D 176 a 25

A

PROSPECT

FROM THE

CONGRESS-GALLERY,

DURING THE

SESSION,

BEGUN DECEMBER 7, 1795.

CONTAINING,

The Preſident's Speech, the addreſſes of both Houſes, ſome of th debates in the Senate, and all the principal debates in the Houſe of Repreſentatives; each debate being brought under one head, and ſo digeſted and ſimplified as to give the reader the completeſt view of the proceedings with the leaſt poſſible fatigue.

WITH

OCCASIONAL REMARKS,

BY PETER PORCUPINE.

The Second Edition.

PHILADELPHIA:

PUBLISHED BY THOMAS BRADFORD, PRINTER,

BOOKSELLER & STATIONER,

No. 8,

South Front-Street.

1796.

BRITISH MUSEUM

PREFACE.

THE ſerenity that reigned in our political hemiſphere at the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion of Congreſs, was ſoon ſucceeded by the boiſterous conflict for and againſt the treaty with Great Britain. This ſtruggle, the cauſe as well as the circumſtances of which are too unpleaſant to be dwelt on here, ended in the determination of the diſcomfited party to petition the Houſe of Repreſentatives, and thus renew the fight. Hence moſt people looked towards the meeting of Congreſs with unuſual anxiety: every real American had his hopes and his fears; of courſe, I had mine: and, as I look upon it to be the duty of every man to keep the deck during a ſtorm, I reſolved to be a punctual attendant in the Gallery from one end of the ſeſſion to the other.

Moſt of the members will, without doubt, recollect ſeeing a little dark man, clad in a grey coat ſomething the worſe for wear, ſitting in the weſt corner of the front ſeat: that has been my poſt: and I can boldly ſay, that I never deſerted it; except during the five days that I was employed in writing the New-Year's Gift.

During this my contemplative attendance, I made a number of remarks, which, becauſe they appeared pertinent to me, I naturally imagined would be uſeful to my countrymen; and this together with conſiderations of a domeſtic nature, tempted me to

preſent them to the public, accompanied with the debates to which they refer.

But, I ſhould be wanting in juſtice to myſelf on this occaſion, were I to omit mentioning other motives that had a ſhare in inducing me to undertake the compilation. I had obſerved, with a good deal of pain, that a certain Mr. Callender, amuſed himſelf, during one half of the ſummer, in re-publiſhing the debates from the Philadelphia Gazette, with the voluminous addition of the minutes of the Houſe. This laborious taſk appeared to me to anſwer no earthly purpoſe, but that of keeping half a dozen luſty fellows pent up in the city, at work in ink and filth, to the evident detriment of their health, while they might be ſo much more wholeſomely as well as profitably employed in getting in the harveſt. It was alſo certain, that, while Mr. Callender himſelf was this way engaged, he could not apply the whole force of his genius to his other important ſtudies; and that, ſhould he be ſuffered to proceed the enſuing ſummer, the people of the United States might, perhaps, be deprived of a third *" Political Progreſs of Britain," foretelling the long-hoped-for ruin of that " inſular Baſtile."*

Thus then, in ſpite of my cruel and implacable perſecutors, the Democrats, from whoſe malice no degree of inoffenſiveneſs has been able to ſhelter me, I hope the world will be convinced that this undertaking of mine has been dictated by the pureſt patriotiſm and urbanity; a circumſtance that aſſuredly does not render it leſs worthy of the patronage of my fellow citizens.

A

PROSPECT, &c.

MEETING OF CONGRESS.—A SPEAKER CHOSEN.—PRESIDENT's SPEECH.

MONDAY, *7th December*, 1795.

THE Houſe being met, proceeded to the choice of a Speaker and a Clerk, when Mr. Jonathan Dayton, one of the Repreſentatives for the ſtate of New Jerſey was choſen Speaker, and Mr. John Beckley, Clerk.

TUESDAY, *8th December*, 1795.

The Senators and Repreſentatives being aſſembled in the chamber of the latter, the Preſident of the United States entered, took the chair, and opened the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech:

Fellow Citizens of the Senate,
and Houſe of Repreſentatives,

I TRUST I do not deceive myſelf, while I indulge the perſuaſion, that I have never met you at any priod, when, more than at the preſent, the ſituation of our public affairs has afforded juſt cauſe for mutual congratulation, and for inviting you to join with me in profound gratitude to the

Author of all Good for the numerous and extraordinary bleſſings we enjoy.

The termination of the long, expenſive and diſtreſſing war, in which we have been engaged with certain Indians, North Weſt of the Ohio, is placed in the option of the United States, by a Treaty which the Commander of our army has concluded, proviſionally, with the hoſtile tribes in that region. In the adjuſtment of the terms, the ſatisfaction of the Indians was deemed an object worthy no leſs of the policy, than of the liberality of the United States, as the neceſſary baſis of durable tranquility. This object, it is believed, has been fully attained. The articles agreed upon, will immediately be laid before the Senate, for their conſideration.

The Creek and Cherokee Indians, who alone of the Southern tribes had annoyed our Frontiers, have lately confirmed their pre-exiſting Treaties with us; and were giving evidence of a ſincere diſpoſition to carry them into effect, by the ſurrender of the priſoners and property they had taken:—But we have to lament, that the fair proſpect in this quarter, has been once more clouded by wanton murders, which ſome citizens of Georgia are repreſented to have recently perpetrated on hunting parties of the Creeks; which have again ſubjected that frontier to diſquietude and danger; which will be productive of further expence, and may occaſion more effuſion of blood. Meaſures are purſuing to prevent or mitigate the uſual conſequences of ſuch outrages; and with the hope of their ſucceeding—at leaſt to avert general hoſtility.

A letter from the Emperor of Morocco, announces to me his recognition of our treaty made with his father, the late Emperor, and conſequently the continuance of peace with that power. With peculiar ſatisfaction I add, that information has been received from an agent deputed on our part to Algiers, importing, that the terms of a treaty with the Dey and Regency of that country, had been adjuſted in ſuch a manner, as to authorize the expectation of a ſpeedy peace, and the reſtoration of our unfortunate fellow citizens from a grievous captivity.

The lateſt advices from our envoy at the court of Madrid, give, moreover, the pleaſing information, that he had received aſſurances of a ſpeedy and ſatisfactory concluſion of his negociation. While the event, depending upon unjuſtified particulars, cannot be regarded as af-

certained, it is agreeable to cheriſh the expectation of an iſſue, which, ſecuring amicably very eſſential intereſts of the United States, will, at the ſame time, lay the foundation of laſting harmony with a power, whoſe friendſhip we have uniformly and ſincerely deſired to cultivate.

Though not before officially diſcloſed to the Houſe of Repreſentatives, you, gentlemen, are all apprized, that a treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, has been negociated with Great Britain; and that the Senate have adviſed and conſented to its ratification, upon a condition, which excepts part of one article.—Agreeably thereto, and to the beſt judgment I was able to form of the public intereſt, after full and mature deliberation, I have added my ſanction. The reſult on the part of his Britannic Majeſty is unknown. when received, the ſubject will, without delay, be placed before Congreſs.

This intereſting ſummary of our affairs, with regard to the foreign powers, between whom and the United States, controverſies have ſubſiſted; and with regard alſo to thoſe of our Indian neighbours, with whom, we have been in a ſtate of enmity or miſunderſtanding, opens a wide field for conſoling and gratifying reflections.—If by prudence and moderation on every ſide, the extinguiſhment of all the cauſes of external diſcord, which have heretofore menaced our tranquility, on terms compatible with our national rights and honour, ſhall be the happy reſult; how firm and how precious a foundation will have been laid for accelerating, maturing and eſtabliſhing the proſperity of our country.

Contemplating the internal ſituation, as well as the external relations of the United Sates, we diſcover equal cauſe for contentment and ſatisfaction. While many of the nations of Europe, with their American dependencies, have been involved in a conteſt unuſually bloody, exhauſting and calamitous, in which the evils of foreign war have been aggravated by domeſtic convulſion and inſurrection; in which many of the arts moſt uſeful to ſociety, have been expoſed to diſcouragement and decay; in which ſcarcity of ſubſiſtence has embittered other ſufferings —while even the anticipation of a return of the bleſſings of peace and repoſe, are alloyed by the ſenſe of heavy and accumulating burthens, which preſs upon all the departments of induſtry, and threaten to clog the future ſprings of government—our favoured country, happy in a ſtriking

contraſt, has enjoyed general tranquility; a tranquility the more ſatisfactory, becauſe maintained at the expence of no duty—Faithful to ourſelves, we have violated no obligation to others.—Our agriculture, commerce and manufactures proſper beyond former example; the moleſtations of our trade (to prevent a continuance of which, however, very pointed remonſtrances have been made) being overbalanced by the aggregate benefits which it derives from a neutral poſition. Our population advances with a celerity, which, exceeding the moſt ſanguine calculations, proportionally augments our ſtrength and reſources, and guarantees our future ſecurity. Every part of the Union diſplays indications of rapid and various improvement, and with burthens ſo light as ſcarcely to be perceived; with reſources fully adequate to our preſent exigences; with governments founded on the genuine principles of rational liberty; and with mild and wholſome laws; is it too much to ſay, that our country exhibits a ſpectacle of national happineſs never ſurpaſſed, if ever before equalled?

Placed in a ſituation every way auſpicious, motives of commanding force impel us, with ſincere acknowledgement to Heaven, and pure love to our country, to unite our efforts to preſerve, prolong and improve our immenſe advantages.—To co-operate with you in this deſirable work, is a fervent and favourite wiſh of my heart.

It is a valuable ingredient in the general eſtimate of our welfare, that the part of our country which was lately the ſcene of diſorder and inſurrection, now enjoys the bleſſings of quiet and order. The miſled have abandoned their errors, and pay the reſpect to our conſtitution and laws, which is due from good citizens to the public authorities of the ſociety. Theſe circumſtances have induced me to pardon, generally, the offenders here referred to; and to extend forgiveneſs to thoſe who had been adjudged to capital puniſhment.—For though I ſhall always think it a ſacred duty to exerciſe with firmneſs and energy, the conſtitutional powers with which I am veſted; yet it appears to me no leſs conſiſtent with the public good, than it is with my perſonal feelings, to mingle in the operations of government, every degree of moderation and tenderneſs, which the national juſtice, dignity and ſafety may permit.

Gentlemen,

Among the objects which will claim your attention in the courſe of the ſeſſion, a review of our military eſtabliſh-

ment is not the leaſt important. It is called for by the events which have changed, and may be expected ſtill further to change the relative ſituation of our frontiers. In this review, you will doubtleſs allow due weight to the conſiderations, that the queſtions between us and certain foreign powers are not yet finally djuſted; that the war in Europe is not yet terminated; and that our weſtern poſts, when recovered, will demand proviſion for garriſoning and ſecuring them. A ſtatement of our preſent military force will be laid before you by the department of war.

With the review of our army eſtabliſhment, is naturally connected that of the militia. It will merit enquiry, what imperfections in the exiſting plan, further experience may have unfolded. The ſubject is of ſo much moment, in my eſtimation, as to excite a conſtant ſolicitude, that the conſideration of it may be renewed, till the greateſt attainable perfection ſhall be accompliſhed. Time is wearing away ſome advantages for forwarding the object, while none better deſerves the perſevering attention of the public councils.

While we indulge the ſatisfaction, which the actual condition of our weſtern borders ſo well authorizes, it is neceſſary that we ſhould not loſe ſight of an important truth, which continually receives new confirmations,—namely, that the proviſions heretofore made with a view to the protection of the Indians from the violences of the lawleſs part of our frontier inhabitants, are inſufficient. It is demonſtrated that theſe violences can now be perpetrated with impunity. And it can need no argument to prove, that unleſs the murdering of Indians can be reſtrained, by bringing the murderers to condign puniſhment, all the exertions of the government to prevent deſtructive retaliations by the Indians, will prove fruitleſs, and all our preſent agreeable proſpects illuſory. The frequent deſtruction of innocent women and children, who are chiefly the victims of retaliation, muſt continue to ſhock humanity; and an enormous expence, to drain the treaſury of the Union.

To enforce upon the Indians the obſervance of juſtice, it is indiſpenſable that there ſhall be competent means of rendering juſtice to them. If theſe means can be deviſed by the wiſdom of Congreſs; and eſpecially if there can be added an adequate proviſion for ſupplying the neceſſities of the Indians, on reaſonable terms, (a meaſure, the men-

tion of which I the more readily repeat, as in all the conferences with them, they urge it with ſolicitude) I ſhould not heſitate to entertain a ſtrong hope of rendering our tranquility permanent. I add, with pleaſure, that the probability even of their civilization, is not diminiſhed by the experiments which have been thus far made, under the auſpices of government.—The accompliſhment of this work, if practicable, will reflect undecaying luſtre on our national character, and adminiſter the moſt grateful conſolations that virtuous minds can know.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Repreſentatives,

The ſtate of our revenue with the ſums which have been borrowed and re-imburſed, purſuant to different acts of Congreſs, will be ſubmitted from the proper departments; together with an eſtimate of the appropriations neceſſary to be made for the ſervice of the enſuing year.

Whether meaſures may not be adviſeable to reinforce the proviſion for the redemption of the public debt, will naturally engage your examination.—Congreſs have demonſtrated their ſenſe to be, and it were ſuperfluous to repeat mine, that whatſoever will tend to accelerate the honourable extinction of our public debt, accords as much with the true intereſt of our country, as with the general ſenſe of our conſtituents.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and
Houſe of Repreſentatives,

The ſtatements which will be laid before you relative to the mint, will ſhew the ſituation of that inſtitution; and the neceſſity of ſome further legiſlative proviſions, for carrying the buſineſs of it more completely into effect; and for checking abuſes which appear to be ariſing in particular quarters.

The progreſs in providing materials for the frigates, and in building them; the ſtate of the fortifications of our harbours; the meaſures which have been purſued for obtaining proper ſcites for arſenals, and for repleniſhing our magazines with military ſtores; and the ſteps which have been taken towards the execution of the law for opening a trade with the Indians; will likewiſe be preſented for the information of Congreſs.

Temperate diſcuſſion of the important ſubjects which may ariſe in the courſe of the ſeſſion; and mutual forbearance where there is a difference of opinion, are too obvi-

ous and neceſſary for the peace, happineſs and welfare of our Country, to need any recommendation of mine.

UNITED STATES,
8th December, 1795.

REMARKS.

WHEN the Preſident arrived at the Houſe this day, he found it in that ſtate of compoſed gravity, of reſpectful ſilence, for which the Congreſs is ſo remarkable, and which, whatever witlings may ſay, is the ſureſt mark of ſound underſtanding.—The gallery was crowded with anxious ſpectators, whoſe orderly behaviour was not the leaſt pleaſing part of the ſcene.

The Preſident is a timid ſpeaker: he is a proof, among thouſands, that ſuperior genius, wiſdom, and courage, are ever accompanied with exceſſive modeſty.

His ſituation was at this time almoſt entirely new. Never, till a few months preceding this ſeſſion, had the tongue of the moſt factious ſlander dared to make a public attack on his character. This was the firſt time he had ever entered the walls of Congreſs without a full aſſurance of meeting a welcome from every heart. He now ſaw, even among thoſe to whom he addreſſed himſelf, numbers who, to repay all his labours, all his anxious cares for their welfare, were ready to thwart his meaſures, and preſent him the cup of humiliation, filled to the brim. When he came to that part of his ſpeech where he mentions the treaty with His Britannic Majeſty, he caſt his eyes towards the gallery.—It was not the look of indignation and reproach, but of injured virtue, which is ever ready to forgive. I was pleaſed to obſerve, that not a ſingle murmur of diſapprobation was heard from the ſpectators that ſurrounded me; and, if there were ſome a-

mongſt them, who had aſſiſted at the turbulent town-meetings, I am perſuaded, they were ſincerely penitent. When he departed, every look ſeemed to ſay: God prolong his precious life.

DEBATE (IN THE SENATE)* ON THE ADDRESS TO THE PRESIDENT IN ANSWER TO HIS SPEECH.

FRIDAY, *Dec.* 11.

THE addreſs in anſwer to the Preſident's ſpeech was taken up by paragraphs.

The two laſt clauſes but one, which are as follows, were moved to be ſtruck out by Mr. Maſon.

The intereſting proſpect of our affairs with regard to the foreign powers, between whom and the United States controverſies have ſubſiſted, is not more ſatisfactory than the review of our internal ſituation; if from the former we derive an expectation of the extinguiſhment of all the cauſes of external diſcord that have heretofore endangered our tranquility, and on terms conſiſtent with our national honour and ſafety, in the latter we diſcover thoſe numerous and wide ſpread tokens of proſperity, which in ſo peculiar a manner diſtinguiſh our happy country.

Circumſtances thus every way auſpicious demand our gratitude and ſincere acknowledgements to Almighty God, and require that we ſhould unite our efforts in imitation of your enlightened example, to eſtabliſh and preſerve the peace, freedom, and proſperity of our country.

MR. MASON obſerved, that he had hoped, nothing contained in the addreſs reported as an anſwer to the Preſident's ſpeech, would have been ſuch as to force the Senate to precipitate deciſſions. The two clauſes he objected to diſappointed him in that hope. They were calculated to bring again into view the important ſubject which occupied the Senate during their June ſeſſion. This he conceived would anſwer no good purpoſe; the minority on that occaſion were not now to be expected to recede, from the o-

* When no mention is made of the Houſe in which the debate has taken place, the reader will pleaſe to obſerve, that it is meant, in the Houſe of Repreſentatives.

pinion they then held, and they could not therefore join in the indirect ſelf-approbation which the majority appeared to wiſh for, and which was moſt certainly involved in the two clauſes which he hoped would be ſtruck out. If his motion were agreed to, the remainder of the addreſs would in his opinion ſtand unexceptionable. He did not ſee, for his part, that our ſituation is every way auſpicious. Notwithſtanding the treaty, our trade is grievouſly moleſted.

Mr. King obſerved, that the principal features obſervable in the anſwer reported to the Preſident's addreſs, were to keep up that harmony of intercourſe which ought to ſubſiſt between the legiſlature and the Preſident, and to expreſs confidence in the undiminiſhed firmneſs and of love of country which always characteriſe our chief executive magiſtrate. He objected to ſtriking out eſpecially the firſt clauſe, becauſe founded on undeniable truth. It only declares, that our proſpects, as to our external relations, are not more ſatisfactory, than a review of our internal ſituation would prove. Was not this repreſentation true, he aſked; could it be controverted? This clauſe, he contended, contained nothing reaſonably objectionable; it did not ſay as much as the ſecond, to which only moſt of the objections of the member up before him applied, an anſwer to which he ſhould defer, expecting that a queſtion would be put on each in order.

The clauſe, he ſaid, appeared to him drawn up in ſuch terms as could not offend the niceſt feelings of the minority on the important deciſion in June; it was particularly circumſpect and cautious. If liable to objection it was in not going as far as the truth would warrant.

Some converſation took place as to the mode required by order of putting the queſtion; whether it ſhould not be put on each clauſe ſeparately, or whether upon ſtriking out both at once.

The chair requeſted that the motion ſhould be reduced to writing. Mr. Maſon accordingly reduced it to writing, and it went to ſtriking out both clauſes at once.

Mr. Mason agreed moſt cordially that the ſituation of our external relations were not more a cauſe of joy than our ſituation at home. But the obvious meaning of the clauſe he conceived was an indirect approval of our ſituation relative to external concerns; and to this he could not give

his aſſent, as he did not conſider their aſpect as proſperous or auſpicious.

Mr. Butler ſaid, that when the committee was appointed to draft an anſwer, he hoped they would have uſed ſuch general terms as to have ſecured an unanimous vote. He was willing to give the chief magiſtrate ſuch an anſwer, as reſpect to his ſtation entitled him to, but not ſuch a one as would do violence to his regard for the conſtitution and his duty to his conſtituents. He could not approve of long and detailed anſwers, however unexceptionable the ſpeech might be in matter, and however reſpectable the character might be from whom it came. He had hoped, from the peculiar ſituation of the country, and of the Senate, that nothing would have been brought forward in the anſwer on the ſubject which agitated the June executive ſeſſion, calculated to wound the feelings of members. He had been diſappointed ; it was evident, that ſome members of the Senate could not give their vote in favour of the addreſs in its preſent ſhape, without involving themſelves in the moſt palpable inconſiſtency.

He had long ſince for his own part, declared himſelf againſt every article of the treaty, becauſe in no inſtance has it bottomed on reciprocity, the only honourable baſis. After this declaration, how could he, or thoſe who coincided in opinion with him, agree to the preſent addreſs without involving themſelves in the moſt palpable inconſiſtency.

He did not agree with the gentlemen of New-York in his expoſition of the meaning of the clauſes objected to. They certainly declare our ſituation as to our external relations to be favourable. Our ſituation as far it reſpects Great Britain, he contended was not in the leaſt ameliorated.—Their depredations on our commerce have not been leſs frequent of late than at any other period ſince the beginning of her war with France. Her orders for the ſeizure of all our veſſels laden with proviſions cannot ſurely be a ſubject for congratulation. When it became authenticated that our trade was relieved from theſe embarraſſments, then he was confident members of Senate, who were with him in ſentiment, would readily expreſs their ſatisfaction at the auſpicious proſpect, opened for this country to the enjoyments of tranquility and happineſs. But until that happy time ſhould arrive, he could not give his voice to deceive the inhabitants of the United ſtates, remote from the ſources of information, to hoodwink them by ſanction-

ing with his vote a ſtatement unwarranted by truth, and preſenting to them a picture of public happineſs not ſanctioned by fact.

The ſentence objected to, notwithſtanding the explanation of the gentleman from New-York, appeared to him ſo worded as to lead the citizens at large to believe, that the ſpoilations on our commerce were drawing to a fortunate cloſe. This was not, he conceived, warranted by the exiſting ſtate of things. Indeed he proteſted, he knew no more of the actual ſituation of the treaty negociation, than the remoteſt farmer in the union, could he then declare, he aſked, that it was drawing to a happy cloſe. Indeed from the lateſt information received, far from our ſituation having been ameliorated by the negociation of our executive, he conceived our trade as much in jeopardy as ever.

As to the internal proſperity, he owned there was ſome cauſe for congratulation; but even in this his conviction could not carry him as far as the clauſes in the addreſs ſeemed to go. In a pecuniary point of view, the country had made a viſible progreſs; but he ſaw in it no baſis of permanent proſperity. There were no circumſtances attendant on it, that gave a fair hope that the proſperity would be permanent. The chief cauſe of our temporary pecuniary proſperity is the war in Europe, which occaſions the high prices our produce at preſent commands, when that is terminated, thoſe advantageous prices will of courſe fall.

Mr. Butler came now to ſpeak of the ſecond objectionable clauſe. He regretted whenever a queſtion was brought forward that involved perſonality in the moſt indirect manner. He wiſhed always to ſpeak to ſubjects unconnected with men; but the wording of the clauſe was unfortunately ſuch as to render alluſion to official character unavoidable. He objected principally to the epithet *firm* introduced in the latter clauſe as applied to the ſupreme executive. Why *firmneſs?* he aſked. To what? or to whom? Is it the *manly* demand of reſtitution made of Great Britain for her accumulated injuries, that called forth the praiſe; for his own part he could diſcern no firmneſs there. Is it for the *undaunted* and *energetic* countenance of the cauſe of France, in her ſtruggle for freeing herſelf from deſpotic ſhackles? He ſaw no *firmneſs* diſplayed on that occaſion. Where then is it to be found? Was it in the oppoſition of the minority of the Senate and the general voice of the people againſt the treaty that that *firmneſs* was diſplayed?

" if it is, that *firmneſs* in oppoſing the will of the people, " which is intended to be extolled, the vote ſhall never, ſaid Mr. Butler, " leave the walls of the Senate with *my* " approbation."

He could not approve, he ſaid, that *firmneſs* that promted the executive to reſiſt the unequivocal voice of his fellow-citizens from New-Hampſhire to Georgia. He would have applauded the firmneſs of the Preſident, if in compliance with the unequivocal wiſh of the people he had reſiſted the voice of the majority on the treaty, and refuſed his ſignature to the treaty.

This was, he underſtood (and it ſhould be mentioned to the honour of the Preſident) his firſt intention—Why he changed it, time, he ſaid, muſt diſcloſe.

He concluded by propoſing an amendment to be ſubſtituted in lieu of the objectionable clauſes, ſhould they be ſtruck out.

Mr. Read ſaid, he was not in the habit of giving a ſilent vote, and as many of his conſtituents were averſe to the inſtrument to which he had given his aſſent, he thought this a fit opportunity to ſay ſomething on the ſubject.

Gentlemen on the other ſide had ſpoken of their feelings; did they ſuppoſe, he aſked, that thoſe who were in the majority had not feelings. Alſo, gentlemen declared they would not recede from their former determinations; did they expect the majority would recede?

He had, he ſaid, taken the queſtion of the treaty in all its aſpects, and conſidered it maturely, and though he lamented that he differed in opinion on that ſubject with his colleague and a portion of the people of his ſtate, he nevertheleſs remained convinced that the ratification of it was adviſeable: it reſcued the country from war and its deſolating horrors.

After reading that part of the Preſident's ſpeech to which the clauſes objected to were an echo, he aſked, whether any one could ſay, under the conviction that the meaſures of government had prevented a war, that a view of our foreign relations was not conſolatory. On all hands, he obſerved, the idea of a war was deprecated, both ſides of the houſe wiſhed to avoid it, then is it not a conſolatory reflection to all that its horrors have been averted? Is there a man, who does not believe that had the treaty not been ratified we ſhould have had war? If the country had been plunged into a war would it be as flouriſhing as it is? The

trifling vexations our commerce has ſuſtained are not to be compared to the evils of a ſtate of hoſtility. What good end could have been anſwered by a war?—the addreſs in the part under diſcuſſion ſays no more, than that we rejoice at the proſpect that the bleſſings of peace will be preſerved; and does not this expectation exiſt?

Great Britain in the plenitude of her power had availed herſelf of the rights ſhe had under the law of nations, of ſeizing enemies' goods in neutral veſſels; but has allowed compenſation to ſome Americans, and a ſyſtem of mild meaſures on our part is the beſt ſecurity for further.

He adverted to that part of Mr. Butler's obſervations, which related to the probable fall of proviſions at the peace. We ought not to be grieved if Europe was rid of the calamities of war at that price. But he contended, that from the meaſures of adminiſtration permanent advantages were ſecured to this country. The value of our ſoil has been enhanced; wealth has poured in from various parts of the globe, and many permanent advantages ſecured.

There had been one aſſertion made, which by repetition had by ſome almoſt been taken for granted, but which required proof to induce him to believe it, and that was, that a majority of the citizens of the United States are oppoſed to the treaty. In the part of the country he came from he owned there might be a majority of that opinion, but he believed the contrary of the United States at large; he expreſſed a conviction, that when his conſtituents came to conſider the meaſure maturely they would change their opinions; and, indeed, underſtood that the falſe impreſſions by which they were at firſt actuated were already wearing off.

But the Senate and Preſident are the conſtitutional treaty making powers. If miſtaken in their deciſions, they cannot be accuſed of having been miſled by ſudden and immature impreſſions. He ſhould conceive himſelf unfit to fill a chair in Senate if he ſuffered himſelf to be carried away by ſuch impreſſions. The People could not in their town meetings, deprived of proper information, poſſibly form an opinion that deſerved weight, and it was the duty of the executive not to be ſhaken in their determination by tumultuous proceedings from without. Upon this ground he much approved the Preſident's conduct and thought it entitled to the epithet *firm*.

In local queſtions, affecting none but the intereſts of his conſtituents, he ſhould attend to their voice, but on great national points he did not conſider himſelf as a repreſentative from South Carolina, but as ſenator for the Union. In queſtions of this laſt kind, even if the wiſhes of his conſtituents were unequivocally made known to him, he ſhould not conceive himſelf bound to ſacrifice his opinions to theirs.—He viewed the Preſident as ſtanding in this ſituation, and though he might hear the opinions of the people from every part of the United States, he ſhould not ſacrifice to them his own conviction; in this line of conduct he has ſhewn his *firmneſs*, and deſerves to be complimented for it by the ſenate.

The addreſs reported, he ſaid, contained nothing that would wound the feelings of any member. The ſenate would not, in his opinion, act improperly if they expreſſed opinions in coincidence with their act in June ſeſſion. The feelings of the majority ſhould be as much conſulted as thoſe of the minority. The minority are not aſked to retract; but there is a propriety in the ſenate's going as far in their addreſs as the ſpeech went, though it ſhould be ſtiled a vote of ſelf-approbation. He hoped the clauſes would not be ſtruck out.

Mr. ELLSWORTH was oppoſed to ſtriking out. The clauſe records a fact, and if ſtruck out the ſenate deny it. The Preſident aſſerts it, in the addreſs reported, ſenate aſſent, a motion is made to ſtrike out, is it becauſe the truth of it is doubted? It cannot be called an unimportant fact, therefore its omiſſion will not be imputed to overſight. The latter part of the clauſe expreſſes our gratitude to Almighty God. Will the ſenate refuſe to make an acknowledgment of that kind? Do they not admit that he is the ſource of all good, and can they refuſe to acknowledge it? And if ſo, is it poſſible that in admitting the fact and expreſſing the ſentiment which ſo naturally flows from it, the ſenate would wound the feelings of any friend to his country?

The truth of the fact is as clear as that the ſun now ſhines, the ſentiment is unexceptionable, he therefore recommended to his friend the mover not to inſiſt upon ſtriking out merely but that he ſhould vary the motion and propoſe a ſubſtitute.

To bring the mind to the point with preciſion, it was neceſſary to attend to the wording of the clauſe. He read it. As to the ſignification of that part which relates to our

foreign concerns, he did not conſider it as hypothetical, but a poſitive declaration of a conviction that their ſituation is ſatisfactory, and on that ground he wiſhed to meet the queſtion.

The clauſe objected to expreſſes an expectation that the cauſes of external diſagreement which have unhappily exiſted will be peaceably done away. He ſaid he had that expectation; many had it not. Thoſe who have it not will negative the clauſe, thoſe who have it will vote in its favour, the reſult will be the ſenſe of a majority; the ſenate could not be expected, more than on other occaſions to be unanimous: If the declarations contained in thoſe clauſes are ſupported, they will be conſidered as the ſenſe of the majority of ſenate, others may diſſent; but becauſe unanimity could not be obtained it was no reaſon why the majority ſhould give a virtual negative to the declaration which they conceived founded on truth.

He examined in detail the ſituation of our external relations to ſhew the foundation on which he reſted his expectation of a ſatisfactory arrangement of them, and of our general proſperity in that reſpect. With Morocco our treaties are renewed. With Algiers aſſurances are given by the Executive that a peace is not far diſtant. With Spain on the ſame authority it is underſtood, that our proſpects are favourable in that quarter; with the hitherto hoſtile Indians, a peace is within reach, and the only quarter in which doubt can ariſe is from Great Britain. But even with reſpect to that nation his expectation was, that our differences there would terminate amicably; and he believed this to be the expectation of the ſenate, as a collective body.

Mr. ELLSWORTH then went into the examination of ſome other parts of the clauſe objected to, and vindicated the propriety of the epithets *enlightened*, *firm*, *perſevering*, and concluded by lamenting that there exiſted a difference of opinion; but hoped that this would not deter the majority from an expreſſion of their ſenſe.

Mr. TAZEWELL ſaid,—The diſcuſſion had taken a turn different from that which he expected when he heard the motion. He underſtood the motion at the time it was made, and ſtill ſo underſtood it, as not intending to queſtion the propriety of any thing which was contained in the Preſident's communication to both houſes of Congreſs. But from what had been ſaid, (by Mr. Read of S. C.) that part of the anſwer to the Preſident's communications which had

given riſe to the motion, was intended to have a further operation than he originally believed. He aſked what had given riſe to the practice of returning an anſwer of any kind to the Preſident's communications to Congreſs in the form of an addreſs. There was nothing he ſaid, in the conſtitution, or in any of the fundamenial rules of the Federal government which required that ceremony from either branch of the Congreſs. The practice was but an imitation of the ceremonies uſed upon like occaſions in other countries, and was neither required by the conſtitution or authorized by the principles upon which our government was erected —But having obtained, he did not intend now to diſturb it —To allow the utmoſt latitude to the principle which had begotten the practice, it could only tolerate the ceremony as a compliment to the Chief Magiſtrate. It could not be permitted to foreſtall opinions previous to regular diſcuſſions, nor to operate as a mean of pledging members to the purſuit of a particular courſe which ſubſequent and more full inquiries might ſhew to be extremely improper.

Every anſwer, therefore, to the Preſident's communications ought to be drawn in terms extremely general, neither ſeducing the Preſident into a belief that this Houſe would purſue a general recommendation into points not at firſt contemplated by them, nor pledging themſelves to the world that that ſtate of things was juſt which time had not permitted them thoroughly to examine. The clauſes now under conſideration had at leaſt, in one inſtance, deviated from this principle. They declare to the world—"That the intereſting proſpect of our affairs with regard to the foreign powers, between whom, and the United States controverſies have ſubſiſted, is not more ſatisfactory than the review of our internal ſituation." The communications from the Preſident have not uttered ſo bold a ſentiment, nor is there any thing in thoſe communications that juſtifies the aſſertion of this fact: Placing the treaty with Great Britain out of the queſtion, which ſeems to have been the uppermoſt conſideration when this ſentence was penned, the ſeizure of our proviſion veſſels ſince the ſignature of that treaty and the unwarrantable impriſonment of our ſeamen, are acts which cloud our proſperity and happineſs. The minds of the Americans muſt be brought to conſider theſe things as trivial incidents in our political affairs, before the ſentence under conſideration can be approved. He

ſaid he muſt therefore vote for the motion to ſtrike out the two clauſes of the anſwer in order that ſome fit expreſſions might then be introduced to ſucceed them. He hoped the anſwer might be couched in terms juſt and delicate towards the Preſident without wounding the feelings of any Senator; and he believed both might be done without any difficulty after the two clauſes were expunged.

The motion for ſtriking out being put, was negatived.

NOES.

Meſſrs.	Bingham,	Livermore.
	Cabot,	Marſhall,
	Ellſworth,	Paine,
	Foſter,	Read,
	Frelinghuyſen,	Roſs,
	King,	Strong,
	Latimer,	Trumbull, 14.

AYES.

Meſſrs.	Bloodworth,	Martin,
	Brown,	Maſon,
	Butler,	Robinſon,
	Langdon,	Tazewell, 8.

After a further attempt to amend the addreſs, againſt which the Senate divided—15 and 7—the addreſs was agreed to—14 to 8.

THE ADDRESS.

To the President of the United States.

SIR,

It is with peculiar ſatisfaction that we are informed by your Speech to the two Houſes of Congreſs, that the long and expenſive war in which we have been engaged with the Indians north weſt of the Ohio, is in a ſituation to be finally terminated; and though we view with concern the danger of an interruption of the peace ſo recently confirmed with the Creeks, we indulge the hope, that the meaſures that you have adopted to prevent the ſame, if followed by thoſe legiſlative proviſions that juſtice and humanity equally demand, will ſucceed in laying the foundation of a laſting

peace with the Indian tribes on the Southern as well as on the Weſtern Frontiers.

The confirmation of our treaty with Morocco, and the adjuſtment of a treaty of peace with Algiers, in conſequence of which our captive fellow citizens ſhall be delivered from ſlavery, are events that will prove no leſs intereſting to the public humanity, than they will be important in extending and ſecuring the navigation and commerce of our country.

As a juſt and equitable concluſion of our depending negociations with Spain, will eſſentially advance the intereſt of both nations, and thereby cheriſh and confirm the good underſtanding and friendſhip, which we have at all times deſired to maintain, it will afford us real pleaſure to receive an early confirmation of our expectations on this ſubject.

The intereſting proſpect of our affairs with regard to the foreign powers, between whom and the United States controverſies have ſubſiſted, is not more ſatisfactory, than the review of our internal ſituation; if from the former we derive an expectation of the extinguiſhment of all the cauſes of external diſcord, that have heretofore endangered our tranquility, and on terms conſiſtent with our national honour and ſafety, in the latter we diſcover thoſe numerous and wide ſpread tokens of proſperity, which in ſo peculiar a manner diſtinguiſh our happy country.

Circumſtances thus every way auſpicious demand our gratitude and ſincere acknowledgements to Almighty God, and require that we ſhould unite our efforts in imitation of your enlightened, firm, and perſevering example, to eſtabliſh and preſerve the peace, freedom, and proſperity of our country.

The objects which you have recommended to the notice of the Legiſlature, will in the courſe of the ſeſſion receive our careful attention, and with a true zeal for the public welfare, we ſhall chearfully co-operate in every meaſure that ſhall appear to us beſt calculated to promote the ſame.

JOHN ADAMS, Vice-Preſident
of the United States, and Preſident of the Senate.

Dec. 12, 1795.

To which the Preſident was pleaſed to make the following reply.

GENTLEMEN,

With real pleaſure I receive your Addreſs, recognizing the proſperous ſituation of our public affairs; and giving aſſurances of your careful attention to the objects demanding legiſlative conſideration; and that with a true zeal for the public welfare, you will chearfully co-operate in every meaſure which ſhall appear to you beſt calculated to promote the ſame.

But I derive peculiar ſatisfaction from your concurrence with me in the expreſſions of gratitude to Almighty God, which a review of the auſpicious circumſtances that diſtinguiſh our happy country have excited; and I truſt that the ſincerity of our acknowledgements will be evidenced by a union of efforts to eſtabliſh and preſerve its peace, freedom and proſperity.

G.° WASHINGTON.

DEBATE ON THE MANNER OF PRESENTING THE ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO THE PRESIDENT's SPEECH.

Wedneſday, *9th December*, 1795.

The Houſe of Repreſentatives went into a committee of the whole Houſe, on the ſpeech of the Preſident, Mr. Muhlenberg in the chair. The clerk then read the ſpeech.

MR. VANS MURRAY *(Maryland)* next moved that a committee ſhould be appointed to draw up a reſpectful addreſs in anſwer to the ſpeech. The reſolution was in theſe words.

"Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a reſpectful Addreſs ought to be preſented by the Houſe of Repreſentatives to the Preſident of the United States, in anſwer to his ſpeech to both Houſes of Congreſs, at the commencement of this ſeſſion, containing aſſurances, that this Houſe will take into conſideration the various and important matters recommended to their attention.

MR. SEDGWICK *(Maſſachuſetts)* ſeconded the motion.

MR. PARKER *(Virginia)* offered an amendment, which was ſeconded by Mr. Macon (N. C.)

The ſubſtance of this amendment was to ſtrike out all that part of the reſolution which goes before the word *aſſurances;* in place of which Mr. Parker propoſed to appoint a committee, who ſhould perſonally wait on the Preſident, and aſſure him of the attention of the Houſe, &c and concluding as above. Mr. Parker had the higheſt reſpect for the Preſident, but he had always diſapproved of this practice of making out addreſſes in anſwer to theſe ſpeeches, and of the houſe leaving their buſineſs to go in a body to preſent it. Laſt ſeſſion the framing of this addreſs had coſt very long debates, and produced very great irritation. Some of the moſt diſagreeable things that happened, during the ſeſſion, occurred in theſe debates. He wiſhed unanimity, and the diſpatch of buſineſs, and ſo could not conſent that any addreſs ſhould be drawn up, as he preferred ending the affair at once by ſending a committee with a verbal anſwer.

MR. MURRAY replied, that the practice of drawing up ſuch an addreſs was coeval with the conſtitution. It was conſiſtent with good ſenſe, and he did not ſee that any arguments had been employed by the gentlemen who ſpoke laſt againſt it. It was true that the Houſe might ſend a verbal anſwer, and it was likewiſe true that the Preſident might have ſent them his ſpeech by his ſecretary, without coming near them at all. He had come to Congreſs, and Mr. Murray could perceive no impropriety in Congreſs returning the compliment by waiting on him.

The committee divided on the amendment propoſed by Mr. Parker. Eighteen members roſe in ſupport of it, ſo it was loſt. The committee then agreed to the reſolution, as offered by Mr. Murray. They roſe, and the Chairman reported progreſs. The reſolution was agreed to by the Houſe. The next queſtion was of how many members the ſelect committee ſhould conſiſt, that were to be employed in framing a draft of the addreſs. The different numbers of *five* and *three* were propoſed. A diviſion took place on the former motion, when only thirty-one gentlemen roſe in its favour. The motion for a committee of three members to report an addreſs was of courſe carried. Mr. Madiſon, Mr. Sedgwick and Mr. Sitgreaves were appointed.

REMARKS—HERE was a direct attempt, on the part of *Mr. Parker*, to ſet aſide a reſpectful cuſtom, which was coeval with the operation of the Conſtitution of the United States. One would imagine that this inſtrument was grown out of favour with the member from Virginia; but we ſhall be leſs ſurpriſed at this, when we come, by and by, to ſee the inſtructions of his ſtate to its Senators in Congreſs.

DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO THE SPEECH.

TUESDAY, 15*th December*, 1795.

The houſe went into a committee on the report of the ſelect committee of an addreſs in anſwer to the Preſident's ſpeech.

The following paragraph gave riſe to ſome diſcuſſion.

" Contemplating that *probably unequalled* ſpectacle of national happineſs, which our country exhibits, to the intereſting ſummary which you, Sir, have been pleaſed to make, in juſtice to our own feelings, permit us to add the benefits which are derived from your preſiding in our councils *reſulting as well from the* UNDIMINISHED *confidence of your fellow citizens, as from your zealous and ſucceſsful labours in their ſervice.*"

MR. PARKER *(Virginia)* moved to ſtrike out the words *probably unequalled*, which was carried, 43 againſt 39.

He then moved to ſtrike out from the word *reſulting* to the end of the paragraph.

MR. MURRAY, (who, as the chairman was about to put the queſtion on Mr Parker's ſ motion) ſaid that he could not in juſtice to the opinions of his conſtituents, &c. of the ſtate of Maryland at large, give a ſilent vote. He would ſtate to the committee a recent fact that warranted him in declaring that the Preſident poſſeſſed in the ampleſt manner, the confidence of the Citizens of Maryland. The Legiſlature of that ſtate probably foreſeeing the efforts of certain perſons to diminiſh the confidence of the public in the chief magiſtrate, had paſſed a reſolution which appears to have been unanimous, by which they declare to the world, the moſt perfect confidence in the Preſident.

This fact though known certainly to many, might not be known to all preſent; and as in this ſolemn teſtimony of approbation and confidence, he totally co-incided he could neither be entirely ſilent when a queſtion like this implies the contrary ſentiment, nor withold from gentlemen a great fact ſo recently diſplaying the undiminiſhed confidence of the ſtate of Maryland.

Mr. Gilfs *(Virginia)* hoped that the latter amendment would not take any diſagreeable turn. He was not prepared to go, at length, into the propoſitions. He did not think it inconſiſtent with all due reſpect for the Preſident to ſhorten this clauſe.

A member propoſed to reſtrict this amendment to merely ſtriking out the word *undiminiſhed.*

Mr. Harper *(S. Carolina)* thought the Preſident as wiſe as honeſt and faithful a public ſervant as poſſibly could be. He was not prepared to ſay that the Preſident was as popular as he formerly has been, but there is no doubt of his being reinſtated in the confidence of the public. Mr. Harper was confident that four fifths of us ſtill truſt in him. But Mr. Harper thought that objections might be made to the clauſe as it now ſtands, and he deſigned, when the preſent queſtion had been diſcuſſed to move an amendment.

Mr. Parker informed the houſe that, with much reſpect for the Preſident, his confidence had *diminiſhed.* He agreed to limit his amendment to ſtriking out the word *undiminiſhed,* in the clauſe above quoted.

Mr. Sedgwick *(Maſſachuſetts)* obſerved, that it had now, in conſequence of the motion for ſtriking out the word *undiminiſhed,* became a queſtion of fact, whether our own and our conſtituents confidence in the Preſident was or was not diminiſhed? To ſuppoſe the former, in his opinion, was unſupported by facts, was diſgraceful to our conſtituents, and muſt in the end prove baneful to that ſyſtem of government which we were attempting to adminiſter.

That ſo far as he was acquainted with the actual diſpoſition of the people, of that part of the country, where alone he could have obtained competent knowledge, he was as certain as he could be, of any public ſentiments, that confidence in the Preſident, ſo far from having been diminiſhed by the artifices which had been made, on the con-

trary had been increaſed; and he felt perfectly ſure, that at no antecedent period, had the tide of popular affection, ſet ſo ſtrongly towards him as at the preſent moment.

This part of the addreſs expreſſed our own and our conſtituents undiminiſhed confidence in the Preſident; and an acknowledgement of his zealous and ſucceſsful labours in the public ſervice. That he had approved of this part of the addreſs, as a member of the ſelect committee, and on reviewing, ſince, the ſubject, he had found no cauſe to reject the opinion which he had then formed. He did believe, and he loved to believe, becauſe it was honourable to his conſtituents, that the late efforts, which had been made, had, inſtead of diminiſhing, increaſed the public confidence. That a late meaſure of the Executive had indeed provided a fit occaſion for a diſcloſure of enmities which prudence and policy had heretofore concealed, *but* had not ſhaken the well founded reliance of the public on the wiſdom and integrity of the Preſident. To ſuppoſe an abatement of confidence, in his opinion, was to ſuppoſe in the people a want of a due ſenſe of gratitude, for the diſtinguiſhed bleſſings which they enjoyed; it was to ſuppoſe a baſeneſs of diſpoſition unworthy of their former conduct, unworthy of freemen. "Who," he aſked, "of a candid mind, and fair and honourable ſentiments, can take a review of the glorious conduct of our chief during the conflict of the revolution; his zealous and ſucceſsful labours for the public good; his bravery, moderation and humanity: who can follow him to the place of his happy retirement, and there again behold him, covered with glory, attended by the gratitude and affection of his fellow citizens, and the applauſes of the world; who can ſee him again, iſſuing at the call of his countrymen, from this retirement, and putting at hazard for their benefit, the mighty maſs of reputation which he had collected, that beſt reward of virtuous minds; who can review the ſituation of this country for the ſix years of his adminiſtration, the dangers to which we have been expoſed, and the happy eſcapes we have experienced, effected by his prudence, ſagacity, and firmneſs; who can review the conduct of the preſident in thoſe intereſting ſcenes, but with a heart filled with gratitude, affection and confidence?"

No man, he hoped, in his heart; no man, he believed, would, conſiſtent with a due regard to his own reputation, deny to the Preſident his juſt claims of merit. No man

could without diſgracing his conſtituents, deny their participation in this ſentiment. It only remained, then, to be enquired whether theſe juſt feelings of their, and our hearts, ought under the exiſting circumſtances, to be publiſhed to the world. He held this declaration to be, at this moment, an indiſpenſable obligation, due from the repreſentatives of the people, from a regard to themſelves, their conſtituents, and the permanent and beneficial exiſtence of the government which they had choſen.

Although the Preſident had twice been called, by the unanimous and unſolicited voice of his countrymen, to preſide in their government; though to comply with their wiſhes, he had ſacrificed more than any other man could have done, and although the only reward he ſought or would accept, was their approbation; yet licentious and turbulent preſſes, had teemed with ſcandalous and infamous abuſe. What ſentiments by theſe cauſes might be produced in his mind, whether pity, contempt or indignation, or a mixture of them all, he could not determine, nor was it neceſſary to enquire further to determine whether we ſhould attempt to defeat their effects. In no manner could this be done, ſo effectually as by declaring our own and our conſtituents confidence in him.

The Preſident had told the Legiſlature, that it was the favourable wiſh of his heart, to unite with us, in our efforts to preſerve, prolong, and improve our immenſe advantages. Did we believe this declaration? Why then ſhould we not unite in counteracting, the malignant efforts of ſedition, by publiſhing the ſentiment, at once juſt to him and honourable to ourſelves?

The efforts which had been made to depreciate the character of that firſt of men and of patriots; inſtead of producing the nefarious intention, he believed in his conſcience, had increaſed as it ought, the public confidence and regard. Thus feeling and believing, he wiſhed to reſcue our country from the imputation of baſeneſs and ingratitude, which otherwiſe it would appear to merit.

But it was ſaid that an expreſſion of confidence, at this time, might be conſtrued into a declaration of approbation of a late meaſure of the Executive, and preclude the right of examining that meaſure according to its merit, whenever it ſhould be laid before the Legiſlature. To this he anſwered, that, for himſelf he had no ſuch intention, and he believed it incapable of ſuch a conſtruction. Conſi-

dence did not imply an approbation of every part of th officer's conduct, to whom it belonged, it did not exclude the idea of falibility; but it only implied an approbation of the general tenor of his conduct.

If when the firſt officer of our government was thus attacked, he was left to be overwhelmed by a torrent of abuſe without the countenance and ſupport of his conſtituents, or their repreſentatives; what man, he aſked, who had talents to be uſeful, reputation to loſe, or feelings to be wounded, would put all at hazard to ſerve an ungrateful country? What would ſuch mean and baſe deſertion produce, but to make the firſt offices of our government, poſts to which merit would be uncongenial—what! but to provide vacancies to be filled by harpies who would prey on the vitals of the Republic?

There was another circumſtance which preſſed itſelf on his reflections on this occaſion. It was the character—the juſt character which the Preſident poſſeſſes throughout the civilized world. What would it be, to reject this part of the addreſs, but to juſtify thoſe, he hoped, unfounded aſperſions, which had been made on Republican governments? What! but to verify thoſe malign predictions which had been pointed at our own ſyſtem?

Thus had he expoſed to the committee, as conciſely as he could, his own views of this important ſubject. He would only add, that when the Preſident entered firſt on the execution of the important duties of his office, the man who would have dared to predict; that the preſent queſtion would at this time, have become a ſubject of bebate, would have been conſidered as predicting the infamy of his country,

Mr, Livingston ſaid there were many whoſe confidence was impaired by a late tranſaction. He could not therefore conſent to the expreſſion in the draft of the addreſs. Mr. Sedgwick had ſaid that conſenting to ſtrike out the word *undiminiſhed*, would be telling the world that our confidence actually is diminiſhed; and the member from Maſſachuſetts adds, that the Houſe are now brought into a diſtreſſing dilemma. If there is a diſtreſs in the caſe, it originates with this member himſelf, as one of the committee who brought in this draft of an addreſs. He moved to prevent any unconciliating debates, that the addreſs might be recommitted. The motion was ſeconded by Mr.

Sedgwick. The Committee roſe, and the reſolution for recommitting paſt.

It was then moved that two members ſhould be added to the committee on draughting the addreſs. Mr. Tracy conſidered the preſent number as ſufficient. Mr. Freeman and Mr. Baldwin were added.

WEDNESDAY, 16*th December* 1795.

THE ſelect committee reported the following addreſs to the Preſident, in anſwer to his Speech to both Houſes of Congreſs, which was unanimouſly agreed to :

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

SIR,

As the Repreſentatives of the people of the United States, we cannot but participate in the ſtrongeſt ſenſibility to every bleſſing which they enjoy, and cheerfully join with you, in profound gratitude to the author of all good, for the numerous and extraordinary bleſſings which he has conferred on our favoured country.

A final and formal termination of the diſtreſſing war, which has ravaged our North Weſtern Frontier, will be an event, which muſt afford a ſatisfaction proportioned to the anxiety with which it has long been ſought ; and in the adjuſtment of the terms, we perceive the true policy of making them ſatisfactory to the Indians, as well as to the United States, as the beſt baſis of a durable tranquility. The diſpoſition of ſuch of the ſouthern tribes, as had alſo heretofore annoyed our frontier, is another proſpect in our ſituation ſo important to the intereſt and happineſs of the United States, that it is much to be lamented, that any clouds ſhould be thrown over it, more eſpecially, by exceſſes on the part of our own citizens.

While our population is advancing with a celerity which exceeds the moſt ſanguine calculations—while every part of the United States diſplays indications of rapid and various improvement—while we are in the enjoyment of protection and ſecurity, by mild and wholeſome laws, adminiſtered by governments founded on the genuine principles of rational liberty, a ſecure foundation will be laid for accelerating, maturing and eſtabliſhing the proſperity of our country; if, by treaty and amicable negociation, all thoſe cauſes of external diſcord, which heretofore menaced our tranquility

ſhall be extinguiſhed, on terms compatible with our national rights and honor, and with our conſtitution, and great commercial intereſts.

Among the various circumſtances in our internal ſituation, none can be viewed, with more ſatisfaction and exultation, than that the late ſcene of diſorder and inſurrection, has been completely reſtored, to the enjoyment of order and repoſe. Such a triumph of reaſon and of law, is worthy of the free government, under which it happened, and was juſtly to be hoped, from the enlightened and patriotic ſpirit; which pervades and actuates the people of the United States.

In contemplating that ſpectacle of national happineſs, which our country exhibits, and of which, you, Sir, have been pleaſed to make an intereſting ſummary, permit us to acknowledge and declare the very great ſhare, which your zealous and faithful ſervices have contributed to it, and to expreſs the affectionate attachment, which we feel for your character.

The ſeveral intereſting ſubjects, which you recommend to our conſideration, will receive every degree of attention, which is due to them: And whilſt we feel the obligation of temperance and mutual indulgence, in all our diſcuſſions, we truſt and pray, that the reſult to the happineſs and welfare of our country may correſpond with the pure affection we bear to it.

THURSDAY, 17*th December*, 1795.

The ſpeaker, attended by the Houſe, waited on the Preſident with the addreſs, to which they received the following reply.

GENTLEMEN,

Coming, as you do, from all parts of the United States, I receive great ſatisfaction from the concurrence of your teſtimony in the juſtneſs of the intereſting ſummary of our national happineſs, which, as the reſult of my enquiries, I preſented to your view. The ſentiments we have mutually expreſſed, of profound gratitude to the ſource of thoſe numerous bleſſings, the AUTHOR OF ALL GOOD, are pledges of our obligations to unite our ſincere and zealous endeavours, as the inſtruments of Divine Providence, to preſerve and perpetuate them,

Accept, Gentleman, my thanks for your declaration, that to my agency you aſcribe the enjoyment of a great ſhare of theſe benefits. So far as my ſervices contribute to the happineſs of my country, the acknowledgement thereof, by my fellow citizens, and their affectionate attachment, will ever prove an abundant reward.

REMARKS—Thus ended this part of the proceedings, in a manner, which, perhaps, reflects but little honour on the Houſe of Repreſentatives.

The ſentiment contained in the propoſed addreſs, expreſſing an *undiminiſhed* confidence in the Preſident, ſeemed to me the moſt proper that any combination of words could convey; and particularly on the preſent occaſion. The meaſures of the chief Magiſtrate had been moſt violently oppoſed; he had been all but menaced, in order to deter him from the exerciſe of powers veſted in him by the conſtitution; his motives had been diſfigured, and his character reviled. This was to be expected from the leaders of a faction averſe to his adminiſtration and even to the government, and from thoſe among the people whom they had been able to miſlead. But, were the declarations of theſe turbulent demagogues; were the licentious aſperſions and abominable falſhoods of *Valerius*, and the reſt of that *hired* tribe, to be ſeconded by the legiſlators of the union? On this addreſs the malcontents had fixed their eyes: from it they expected encouragement or reproof. To be ſilent was to encourage. The Repreſentatives knew that the feelings of the Preſident had been deeply wounded, and it was their place to adminiſter the healing balm. To effect this, and at once to ſilence the hydra of faction, nothing was ſo well calculated as a firm and explicit declaration, that their confidence was *undiminiſhed*.

However, had not the word *undiminiſhed* been introduced into the propoſed addreſs, the omiſſion of that epithet would have been of leſs conſequence;

but, when once propoſed, to expunge it by a vote of the Houſe, was to declare to the whole union, and even to the whole world, that the Preſident had *loſt the confidence of his fellow citizens;* a declaration that in ſome countries precedes a diſmiſſion from office, downfall, and diſgrace!

Mr. PARKER, who made the motion for ſtriking out the word *undiminiſhed*, tells us plainly, that, "with much *reſpect* for the Preſident, his *confidence* was *diminiſhed;*" and thus, in this ſhort ſentence, advances the moſt palpable inconſiſtency that ever fell from the lips of mortal man. His confidence diminiſhes, while his reſpect remains undiminiſhed! Unleſs, indeed, we are to imagine that his reſpect was in a conſumption as well as his confidence. Such a paradoxical avowal might ſhine in the lunatic reveries of a Rouſſeau; but is little congenial with the ſobriety of legiſlative debate.

Theſe obſervations are far from being inapplicable to the addreſs finally agreed on by the houſe. On the 16th of December, they "acknowledge "and declare, that the *zealous* and *faithful ſervices* "of the Preſident have had a very great ſhare in "contributing to the happineſs of the country; "and expreſs the *affectionate attachment*, they feel for "his character," when, but the very day before, they had determined that their confidence in him was diminiſhed! If they were perſuaded, that his zeal and faithful ſervices had ſo eminently contributed to the happineſs of the country, what reaſon had they to declare that their confidence was diminiſhed? And, if their confidence was diminiſhed, how could his character deſerve their affectionate attachment? There is no medium here: confidence in a public man, is like virtue in a woman; as long as it exiſts at all, it muſt be unimpaired. It is entire, or it is no more.

It was eaſy to perceive why this medley of *reſpect* and *want of confidence* was introduced into the debate. Twenty years of military and civil ſervices, attended with a ſucceſs unexampled in the annals of the world, and backed with a life of piety and ſpotleſs virtue, were not to be annihilated at a blow. This citadel of reputation could not be carried by aſſault. The more prudent, becauſe, perhaps, the more ſure way, was to attack it by a hidden and circuitous route.

There is no telling with what ſucceſs this may be attended; but certain it is, that it will not be the fault of Mr. Parker, and thoſe who ſided with him on this occaſion, if General Waſhington, or any other man who has a reputation to loſe, ſhould again be ſeen at the head of the government. The three branches ſhould be checks on each other, it is true; but, if they are not alſo mutual ſupports, the whole fabrick will ſoon crumble to the ground; and the degree of popular ſtrength, whatever that may be, acquired by the Repreſentative branch through the preſent deciſion, muſt inevitably tend to enfeeble the other two.

DEBATE ON THE ATTEMPT AT CORRUPTION BY RANDALL AND WHITNEY.

MONDAY, *December 28th*, 1795.

Mr. SMITH (S. C.) requeſted the attention of the Houſe, for a moment, to a ſubject of a very delicate nature. He underſtood that a memorial was, this morning, to be preſented from ſome individuals, applying for a grant of a large tract of Weſtern Territory, and as the Houſe had referred all ſuch applicants to the committee for bringing in the land office bill, of which he was Chairman; and as it was probable that the memorial about to be preſented would be diſpoſed of in the ſame manner, he conceived it a duty incumbent on him to diſcloſe to the Houſe,

at this time, ſome circumſtances which had come to his knowledge. Mr. Smith then ſaid, that on Tueſday evening laſt, a perſon of the name of Randall, called on him, requeſting an hour of confidential converſation. In the interview which took place, Randall made a communication to the following effect. He intended to preſent a memorial on the Monday following to Congreſs, for a grant of all the Weſtern lands, lying between lakes Michigan, Erie, and Huron, to the amount of about twenty millions of acres. He, and his aſſociates, ſome of whom were Canada merchants, who had great influence over the Indians, propoſed to form a company and to undertake the extinction of the Indian title, provided Congreſs would cede to them the fee ſimple of the land. The property would be divided into forty ſhares, twenty-four of which ſhould be reſerved for ſuch members of Congreſs as might *favour* the ſcheme, and might be inclined to come into it, after the adjournment of Congreſs, on the ſame terms as the original aſſociators. Randall himſelf had the diſpoſal of twelve ſhares, for members from the ſouthern ſtates, and colleagues of his, a like number for thoſe of the caſtern ſtates. A certain number of ſhares were to be the property of thoſe Canada merchants, who had an unbounded influence over the indians occupying thoſe lands, and who would, if this plan ſucceeded, pacify thoſe Indians, who were the moſt hoſtile to the United States: that General Wayne's treaty was a mere deluſion, and that without the co-operation of thoſe influential perſons, the United States would never have peace in that quarter. Mr. Smith ſaid, that he had communicated this overture the next morning to Mr. Murray, one of the members from Maryland, requeſting his advice how to proceed on ſo delicate an occaſion; that Mr. Murray recommended a diſcloſure to Mr. Henry of the Senate, and that, on a conſultation with thoſe gentlemen, it was reſolved that it was Mr. Smith's duty to make an immediate communication of the matter to the Preſident, which was accordingly done.

Mr. MURRAY roſe next. He had received an application of the ſame nature, but having already heard of the propoſal, "I was," ſaid Mr. Murray, "in a ſtate of preparation, and my virtue had not ſuch a ſhock to encounter, as that of the gentleman laſt up."

Mr. MURRAY corroborated what Mr. Smith had ſaid as to the communication of this affair to himſelf. He added, he ad-

viſed Mr. Smith to give Randall another meeting for the purpoſe of developing his ſcheme and expectations more fully.

Mr. MURRAY ſaid that Mr. Smith informed him on Wedneſday morning; next day in the morning, he informed Mr. Henry of the ſenate. Mr. Smith, on that day, informed the Preſident. On that day (Thurſday) Mr. Randall was introduced to him, and aſked an interview at his lodging; he gave him an appointment at five in the afternoon. Mr Henry and he were together when Randall came in. Randall talked about the policy of extinguiſhing the Indian title to the Peninſula, formed by lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan containing about eighteen or twenty millions of acres of very good land; and talked in terms that he might have empleyed from a pulpit. He did not make any corrupt overtures, till Mr. Murray had carried him into his own apartment. There Randall opened his propoſals, as had been before mentioned by Mr. Smith, obſerving, that if Congreſs would ſell this land to him and his company, they intended to divide it into forty or forty-one ſhares. Twenty-four ſhares were to be appropriated to ſuch members of Congreſs, as choſe to ſupport the memorial, which would be preſented on Monday. The members were to have their ſhares on the ſame terms on which his company ſhould obtain the land. The company would give five hundred thouſand, or perhaps a million of dollars; but on Mr. Murray's apparent acquieſcence in his views, he ſaid that the ſhares would be given to the members who advocated the meaſure, if they pleaſed to accept them, after they returned to their homes. Mr. Murray ſtarted a difficulty about the embarraſſment of land ſpeculations, for which he, perſonally, had no genius; and then Randall inſtantly turned out the cat, and told him, that if *he* did not chooſe the ſhare of land, he ſhould have caſh in hand for his ſhare. Mr Smith and Mr. Murray had reſolved to diſcloſe this to the Houſe, leſt ſome innocent member might offer a memorial, and become liable to ſuſpicion. Randall had hinted that larger proportions would be aſſigned to the more active members, and leſſer ones for *the ſmall fiſh.*

The ſpeaker then roſe, and expreſſed a wiſh that ſome gentleman would move for an order to apprehend Randall. Upon this Mr. Smith again roſe, and ſaid that a warrant to this effect had yeſterday been iſſued by the Preſident, and to ſupport which, Mr. Smith had made oath before

a magiſtrate to the particulars above mentioned. He hoped that by this time the perſon was taken.

Mr. GILES roſe next, and obſerved that an application from the ſame Mr. Randall had been made to himſelf. Beſides a repetition of ſome particulars already ſtated, he told Mr. Giles that he had already ſecured thirty or forty members of this Houſe, but he wanted to ſecure three other members, if Mr. Giles recollected right. He added, that he had already ſecured a majority in the Senate. When this propoſal was firſt made, which he thought was about ten days ago, a member from New-York (Mr. Livingſton) was preſent. Randall had even gone ſo far as to ſay, that a written agreement was drawn out, and ſubſcribed by a member of eaſtern members, and he wiſhed Mr. Giles to extend another obligation of the ſame kind for the ſouthern members, the purport of which paper was underſtood to be, that the members who voted in ſupport of the diſpoſal of the lands, were to be ſecured in a ſtipulated ſhare of them, without having their names mentioned in the deed. Mr. Giles was ſolicitous to learn the names of the members who had *already* entered into the negociation, but Randall aſſured him, that, from motives of delicacy, he durſt not communicate any of the names. Mr. Giles then deſired a ſight of the agreement, that he might be able to comprehend its meaning, before he ſhould attempt to draw any ſimilar paper. The man called a ſecond time, and, as Mr. Giles conceived, about four days ago, but never could produce either the deed or any draft of it. Mr. Giles had already communicated the propoſal to ſeveral members, and, in particular, to the Speaker.

The Speaker (Mr. Dayton) mentioned, that Mr. Giles had, ſome time ago, informed him of the propoſal. He replied, that if an opportunity offered, *he would take care to ſelect a committee conſiſting of members ſure to detect the guilty*, if any ſuch could exiſt; adding, that he expected the houſe to believe that he would not have uſed ſuch words, but on ſo extraordinary an occaſion.

Mr. CHRISTIE ſaid that he was the perſon who introduced Randall to Mr. Smith and Mr. Murray. He had long known him as a reſpectable man. He had mentioned to Mr. Chriſtie, in general, that it was a landed ſpeculation; and hinted that he, Mr. Chriſtie might accept of a ſhare. In reply, that gentleman aſſured him, that he could not

poſſibly have a concern in any ſuch tranſaction. Randall had not, to Mr. Chriſtie, inſinuated that any undue advantages would accrue to members ſupporting the intended purchaſe.

Mr. Buck, a member from Vermont, mentioned, that a perſon of the name of Whitney, who appears to have been an aſſociate with Randall, had called upon him in the country, with a propoſal of this kind.

REMARKS.—I never was more ſurpriſed in my life, than when I heard Mr. Dayton, the Speaker, avow, that he had told Mr. Giles, he would *take care to ſelect ſuch a committee* as ſhould detect the *guilty*, if any ſuch could exiſt.

This ſentence from the Speaker diſcovers to us, that he had but an indifferent opinion of the integrity of ſome of the members of the Houſe: for, had not this been the caſe, he would not have fallen on a plan of *detecting* the *guilty*. The *qualifying phraſe*, "if any ſuch could exiſt," does by no means do away the exiſtence of ſuſpicion in his mind; for, if no ſuſpicion exiſted, why ſhould he talk of *taking care to ſelect a committee* for the purpoſe of detection. This laſt expreſſion has alſo ſomething of a party nature in it. Mr. Dayton ſhould have preſumed that *every member* in the Houſe would be anxious to detect guilt: to ſay that he would take care *to ſelect* ſuch a committee as would do this, was not only to preſume, that there were ſome members who would *not do it*, but it was to hint, at the ſame time, that he knew, or, at leaſt, gueſſed, *who thoſe members were*. This concluſion is inevitable; for, it would have been an abſurdity, which ſo ſenſible a man as the Speaker could not have fallen into, to propoſe to himſelf the ſelecting of ſuch a committee as would be *ſure* to detect the guilty, if he had had an equal confidence in all the members of the Houſe, or if he had not had ſome particular members in his eye, whom he

looked upon as men of more integrity than ſome others.

I know not how the Houſe felt on this occaſion; but, had I been a member, I freely declare, that I ſhould have felt my honour much more deeply wounded by this ſuggeſtion of the Speaker, than by any thing that could poſſibly have been advanced, or even proved, by the land-jobbers themſelves. If he had incautiouſly let fall ſuch expreſſions to Mr. Giles, there was certainly no kind of neceſſity for repeating them in public, unleſs called upon to that effect. This is by no means the leaſt exceptionable circumſtance, as the unaſked-for repetition of the ſuggeſtion, ſeems to have been merely a lure for popularity; a trick allways beneath an independent member of Congreſs, and more eſpecially ſo, when that popularity is to be obtained at the expence of his colleagues.

TUESDAY, *Dec. 29th.*

Mr BLOUNT brought forward a reſolution in nearly the following words: "Reſolved, that it be made a charge "againſt Robert Randall, that be declared to a menber of "this Houſe, that a number, conſiſting of not leſs than "thirty members of this Houſe had engaged to ſupport "his memorial.

Mr MURRAY called upon gentlemen, by their ſenſibility to perſonal dignity, and the character of the Houſe, to arreſt the motion. Its tendency certainly was to place the honour of the Houſe, or a very great part of it, in the power of a man of whoſe known profligacy of principles there could now be no doubt. Will you, he obſerved, permit, nay invite him, whom you arraign at the bar of this Houſe, to be *a public accuſer!* Will you adopt a charge againſt him, which is in its nature an imputation that however lightly and wickedly made, will implicate perhaps innocent men. Theſe men to reſcue their own reputations will be obliged to riſque their characters, on the weight of their veracity, by denying this man's charge in the face of a world but too prone to ſuſpect—By this motion Randall's aſſertion to th gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Giles) the

only member who has mentioned it, is to be alledged againſt Randall as an offence. That Randall ſaid to the gentleman, that there were thirty or forty members *ſecured* he had no doubt—but he believed the fact to be that Randall was both deceived himſelf and attempted to deceive the gentleman—" Why," ſaid Mr. Murray, " The fellow told me that there were thirty members ſecured."—Mr. Murrray had not thought proper to ſtate that circumſtance, becauſe he did not ſo much conſider it as a fact material to the detection of Randall's guilt, as it was one which if mentioned might poſſibly afford to malice an opportunity of affixing a ſtigma to any thirty or forty names at which perſonal enmity might point—no public good could reſult from ſuch a diſcloſure—for the aſſertion of ſuch a man as Randall could not among men of honour be deemed a ſufficient ground of ſuſpicion; and yet the malice of the world, or the rancour of perſonal enemies might attach ſuſpicion and diſhonour to almoſt the whole Houſe, from the indefiniteneſs of the charge. When Randall informed him on thurſday night, that there were thirty members, who would ſupport his meaſures he had felt in the very conduct which he was then himſelf purſuing to detect Randall, to arreſt his ſcheme, a principle of candour towards others, which taught him that other gentlemen to whom Randall had communicated his ſcheme *confidentially*, were probably determined as honeſtly as himſelf to cruſh the infamous plot againſt the honour of the Houſe. He knew that he who would be wicked enough to attempt ſeduction, might be weak enough to uſe this intelligence artfully, for the purpoſe of leading him the more readily to accept terms of infamy; becauſe the object was painted as eaſily attainable; and that Randall might wiſh to diminiſh all qualms, by exhibiting a pretended group of accomplices whoſe company would at leaſt diminiſh the appearance of ſingularity.—I entertained, ſaid Mr. Murray, no ſuſpicion of any man—I knew Randall to be a corrupt man from his offers to myſelf—I therefore placed all his intelligence to the ſcore of flimſy art—I knew that ſuch a man was not to be fully believed, where his intereſt was to magnify his ſucceſs—I drew favourable auſpices with reſpect to the corps to which I belong, from another peice of intelligence of his, which was, that he communicated to ſome members, one of whom he had named, and whom I knew to be a man of honour, in what he called the *general* way.—This general

way was a diſplay of the ſounder part of his ſcheme merely, and not the corrupt:—conſiſting in developing the advantages which would reſult to the Union in the diſpoſal of their lands, provided the harmony of the Indians could be ſecured—In this view of his plan he gave the ſubject an attitude far from unimpoſing;—and I conceived that as in proportion to the numbers engaged confidentially he muſt know that the hazard of detection increaſed, he would not communicate the corrupt view as long as he found the more honeſt part of the policy might appear to ſtrike any gentleman as a meaſure uſeful to his country—I therefore *did not believe* Randall, in the ſenſe he evidently intended. Therefore, Sir, I did not feel myſelf at liberty to mention the aſſertion which I conceived to be unavailing as a circumſtance neceſſary to the example I wiſhed to make, but which if communicated I thought might caſt a ſtain, by the myſtery that enveloped it, upon a body whoſe character ought to be held ſacred to the confidence of the country. My duty was to bring Randall's attempt to corrupt unequivocally into light, not by repeating all the arts which he excited to corrupt; nor by exhibiting them in a way that might wound the feelings of men of honour, who, if charged even perſonally by Randall, would have no refuge from odium but in their characters and counter-aſſertion—this though always concluſive with thoſe who perſonally know them, is not a protection to minds of ſenſibility againſt the ſtings of calumny. The voice of fame is not compoſed from the voice of men of honour.

It was he ſaid in the ſpirit of ſuch reflections, that he and the gentleman with whom he had concerted the mode and time of diſcloſure [Mr. W. Smith] had determined to truſt rather to the as yet unſtained honour of the Houſe than to the looſe declarations of Randall, and therefore had reſolved on Friday morning to make the diſcloſure, before that ſome gentlemen, innocent of the corrupt ſcheme, and acquainted with the ſounder part of the plan only, might have cauſe to bluſh at having preſented a memorial which it would be their duty to defeat and cover with infamy. If this charge is exhibited againſt Randall he will confeſs or deny it; if he confeſſes it, and in the diſpoſition that often accompanies detected guilt, ſhould name particular gentlemen, though their counter-aſſertion, would completely, in his own mind, outweigh the charge of a

corrupt and profligate accuſer like Randall, yet would every man of delicacy have cauſe to regret, that merely for the purpoſe of adding to the charges againſt a man proved to be wicked, a ſtain had glanced from him upon a name innocent and honourable. Let gentlemen act with magnanimity upon this occaſion—Let them reſiſt a motion, which, however purely conceived, may eventually wound honeſt fame, without detecting guilt.—Mr. Murray ſolemnly believed, that Randall's aſſertion was either falſe totally, or true only as it reſpected thoſe who had liſtened to him, for the purpoſe of making an example—or thoſe to whom he had ſpoken in what he had called the *general* way. If Randall denied this charge, it would reſt on the aſſertion of the gentleman from Virginia, but could not affect members farther, than as the meaſure of enquiry ſeemed to imply ſuſpicion. He and the gentleman from South Carolina had both acted upon the preſumption of innocence in members, and they had reſolved on the timely diſcloſure yeſterday, leſt even one member, however innocent, might be placed in a painful ſituation by preſenting the memorial. If Randall is charged with this as an offence, he verily believed the Houſe betrayed its own honour to the malice of the world—he would therefore vote decidedly againſt it.

Mr. Murray, in the courſe of his ſpeech, added ſeveral other obſervations. He did not doubt that in every diſtrict on the continent, thirty *favourites* would be pointed out, whom the people in that quarter, or at leaſt ſome among them, would be diſpoſed to conſign to infamy, and perhaps there was not one diſtrict in the Union, where the ſame thirty members would be named. It would be ſaid, "Sir, they are not named, but, *I know who are the men.*" So rapid were the communications of the preſs, ſo keen the appetite for ſcandal, that when once the ſtory was circulated, it might be impoſſible ever to get rid of it.

Mr. Giles replied. He was in favour of the motion of Mr. Blount. He ſaid it was evident from the way in which this whole communication had been brought forward, that there had been no previous correſpondence between Mr. Murray and himſelf. They had felt differently. Mr. Giles had informed the Speaker of the Houſe. Mr. Murray and his friend [Mr. W. Smith] had communicated the affair to the Preſident, a meaſure of which, as it ſtruck Mr. Giles, he did not diſtinctly perceive the propriety. Mr. Giles had

conſidered it as beſt to wait in ſilence, till the petition of Randall ſhould come forward. Mr. Murray had ſuggeſted a variety of delicate motives for breaking the matter to the Houſe, leſt the petition ſhould come forward, and hurt the feelings of an innocent and unſuſpecting member. Mr. Giles did not wiſh to diminiſh the credit fully due to the gentleman in this reſpect. He himſelf had felt ſomewhat differently. He had acted differently.

Mr. Hillhouse was convinced that there was not a gentleman in the houſe, whoſe character reſted on ſo ſlender a foundation, as to be affected by any thing this man could ſay. He felt no anxiety for the reputation of the Houſe, for he knew that it was not in the ſmalleſt danger. The reſolution went merely to make Randall confeſs, that he had ſaid ſo and ſo. It implied nothing tending to affect members. A man covered with infamy making ſuch charges could not expect credit, or obtain it from any body. Mr. Hillhouſe was, for theſe reaſons, in favour of the reſolution for interrogating Randall.

The reſolution paſſed in the affirmative.

REMARKS—In the deliberations of this day there is nothing that ſeems to demand a particular remark, except it be the different manner of proceedings of Meſſrs. Giles and Murray. Both theſe gentlemen had had the very ſame overtures made to them; but the former had informed the ſpeaker of the Houſe, and "conſidered it as beſt to wait in "ſilence, 'till the petition of Randall ſhould come "forward;" while Mr. Murray, on the contrary, had given information to the Preſident of the United States, and had "broke the matter to the houſe, "leſt the petition ſhould come forward, and hurt "the feelings of an innocent and unſuſpecting "member."

I do not pretend to determine what were the motives of Mr. Giles: God forbid I ſhould imagine them any other than thoſe of the pureſt patriotiſm. But, I muſt confeſs, that the manner of his proceeding might, if adopted, become a very evil precedent. Suppoſe, for inſtance, ſome determined party-man,

ſome fiery demagogue, whoſe only food is popular applauſe, and whoſe only object is to trouble or overturn: Suppoſe a patriot of this ſtamp, ſhould, at ſome future period, wiſh to cruſh, at all events the moderate and upright part of the Houſe? What would be the method he would take, if an opportunity like the preſent offered itſelf?——He would liſten to the land-jobbers, give them no poſitive refuſal or diſcouragement, and would endeavour to get from them the names of the members ſaid to be already gained. Then he would communicate the matter to the Speaker, if he knew him to be of the ſame party with himſelf. This done, they would wait in ſilence, keeping the affair a profound ſecret from all the members, except thoſe of their own faction. The trap thus ſet, the hunters would lie cloſe, and in the inſtant ſome innocent unſuſpecting man (perhaps pointed out by themſelves) fell into it, they would ruſh in upon him with all the ready-ſharpened weapons of miſconſtruction, calumny and reproach; and, when they had effected his deſtruction, that of his friends, and of the government itſelf, they would ſhout out, *glorious ſport!*

It is poſſible, too, that ſuch an unprincipled faction might themſelves already lie under the imputation of having been corrupted; and, in that caſe a ſtroke of retaliation like this would be particularly agreeable. Men are but too prone to ſeek for companions in diſgrace. Revenge is ſweet, at whatever price it be purchaſed. A faction already ſunk to the bottomeſt pit of infamy, would feel a kind of conſolation in dragging down their colleagues, and even their country after them.

Mr. MURRAY's manner of proceeding was exactly the oppoſite of all this. He laid no baits, ſet no ſpringes. He did not break the matter to one member or one party, but to the whole houſe; and, if he ſhewed leſs deſire to "*detect the guilty*," than Meſſrs. Giles and Dayton, he ſhowed a much great-

er deſire to put innocence on its guard, and preſerve the honour of the Houſe unblemiſhed.

WEDNESDAY, 30*th December*, 1795.

RANDALL and WHITNEY being in cuſtody, a debate took place with reſpect to allowing them counſel at the bar of the Houſe, which was alſo determined in the affirmative. On this occaſion *Mr. Chriſtie* obſerved, that he had known Randall *for many years*, and had never heard of any thing againſt him before. He had lately been at Detroit, and Mr. Chriſtie believed that he had been injured by keeping *bad company*.—He was not the firſt man in the country who had been *corrupted* by *Britiſh influence* and *Britiſh company*. He moved that Randall ſhould be allowed untill to-morrow at twelve o'clock. This was negatived.

REMARKS—It appeared to me particularly cruel to negative this motion of Mr Chriſtie's ſeeing that Poor Randall, whom *Mr. Chriſtie had known for ſo many years*, had been injured by keeping *bad company*. But, as to *Britiſh influence*, I could not for my life perceive, with what propriety it was brought in here. It ſeemed rather a wanton attack on the character of a nation, whoſe influence in the line of corruption has not been made apparent in this country; and I may add, it was a wanton attack on the people of this country too, to ſay that Randal "was *not the firſt* man in it who had been *corrupted* by Britiſh influence." Mr. Chriſtie ſeems, indeed, to have fallen into the cant of the oppoſers of the treaty; for, we know, that they attributed its concluſion and Ratification to the influence of Britiſh Gold. We have ſeen the firm, candid and upright man, who negociated that treaty, and the Senators who adviſed its ratification, burnt in an effigy, repreſenting them as receiving the gold of Great Britain; we have been long ſcandalized at theſe ſcenes, and at the attrocious falſhood of the opinion they

were intended to propagate; one would have hoped therefore, that no member of Congreſs, would have ſanctioned, in any manner, however indirect, proceedings from which every well informed and honeſt man turns with indignation.

The pleadings of the counſel, on the part of the priſoners, which took place on the 31ſt of Decem. are by far too long to find a place here. It is hardly neceſſary to obſerve, that they contended for the innocence of the priſoners; nor when the reader is informed that the defence was committed to Meſſrs. *Tilghman* and *Lewis*, is it neceſſary to ſay, that it was ably conducted.

As to the innocence of the land-jobbers, it would be wrong to ſay any thing poſitive about it, after the deciſion of the Houſe; but, it was not to be wondered at if *men of that profeſſion* ſhould imagine it poſſible to bribe the members of Congreſs, after what they had heard of other people in the government. After having heard of the "precious confeſſions" and "overtures" of Mr. Randolph, on behalf of himſelf and others, one would not have been ſurprized if they had attempted to bribe the Preſident himſelf. They found however, other ſort of men to deal with. The affair terminated to the honour of the members, and I hope I may ſay, to the univerſal ſatisfaction of their conſtituents.

ON THE RECEPTION OF THE FRENCH FLAG.

TUESDAY, *January 5th*, 1796.

I WAS rather late in my attendance this day, a circumſtance the more diſtreſſing, as I found, not only the gallery, but even the paſſage alſo, full of ſpectators. I, at laſt, made ſhift to reach my poſt;

but not without an infinite deal of difficulty ; for, the citizens I had to deal with, being in general brim full of the doctrine of equality, pay but very little reſpect to old age.

Every perſon within the walls of the houſe, ſeemed to be waiting for the developement of ſome great and important myſtery. The members were paired off, laying their heads together, whiſpering and liſtening with great eagerneſs ; while the Speaker, ſeated with his chin ſupported between his right finger and thumb, and his eyes rivetted to the floor, appeared loſt, buried alive, as it were, in profundity of thought. Never did wiſdom appear more lovely in my eyes. "Two ſuch ſtatues," ſaid I to myſelf, "would have become the ſhrine of *Minerva* "much better than the blinking twilight mouſers, that her votaries formerly placed on it."

This ſerioufneſs of the members of the Houſe naturally produced the moſt anxious expectation in the minds of the good citizens in my quarter. A thouſand ridiculous inquiries, were made in the twinkling of an eye, which were anſwered by a thouſand ſtill more ridiculous conjectures. One ſaid that a law was going to be read to oblige the Virginians to free their ſlaves and pay their juſt debts ; but another ſwore that was impoſſible. A third declared a ſecond embargo was to be laid, and a fourth obſerved, that it was to hinder the cruel Engliſh from carrying off our poor horſes, to eat them in the Weſt Indies. In ſhort, were I to repeat all that I heard, I ſhould never have done ; for, of two hundred of us, no two individuals were of the ſame opinion. One thing, however, we all agreed in : an impatience that I ſhould in vain endeavour to deſcribe, but of which the half-ſucceſsful lover, who has waited for an anſwer to a ſupplicating billet-doux, may have ſome faint idea.

To tell the reader the truth of my opinion, I was afraid that ſome new confiſcating or ſequeſtrating project was on foot; and when Mr. Dayton, the Speaker, awoke from his reverie, and began to ſpeak, "Lord have mercy," ſaid I, "upon the "poor Britiſh creditors." My fears on this account were ſoon diſſipated, for he informed the Houſe, that, as he underſtood, a meſſage from the Preſident was about to be delivered, and I knew that the Preſident was much too honeſt and honourable a man to think of any ſuch thing. The Speaker told us that this meſſage was of the moſt "*ſolemn*" and "*ſerious*" nature, and he therefore requeſted both the members of the Houſe and the ſtrangers in the gallery to obſerve the profoundeſt ſilence.

The reader will eaſily imagine, that a warning like this increaſed the torture of ſuſpence. It was now that we felt the value of the hearing faculty. I obſerved my neighbours bruſhing aſide their matted and untutored locks, that nothing might impede the entrance of the glad tidings. We were, as the poet ſays, "all eye, all ear." But there was a little man down below whoſe anxiety ſeemed to ſurpaſs that of all the reſt. He crept to within a very few paces of the leeward ſide of the chair, and, turning himſelf ſidewiſe, lifted up the left corner of his wig, placing the auricular orifice, open and extended, in a direct line with the Speaker's mouth, ſo that not a ſingle breath of the precious ſounds could poſſibly eſcape him. His longing countenance ſeemed to ſay, in the language of his countryman Macbeth: "Speak! ſpeak! had I three "ears, by heaven I'd hear thee."

The attitude of this ſubaltern quid nunc had like to have ſhaken the inflexibility of my muſcles; I made a ſhift, however, to mould them up into a gravity adapted to the awfulneſs of the ſcene that was pre-

paring for my view.—All at once, as if by the power of magic, the doors flew open, " grating on their " hinges harſh thunder," and the Preſident's Secretary was introduced with an American officer bearing a Flag, which I took to be a repreſentation of the day of judgment. It had a *thunder-bolt* in the centre with a *cock* perched upon it; the emblems of Almighty vengeance and of watchfulneſs. At two of the corners the *globe* was repreſented in a flame. The ſtaff was covered with black velvet, ſad colour of death, and crowned with a Pariſian pike, fatal inſtrument, on which the bleeding and ghaſtly heads, nay, even the palpitating hearts of men, women and children have ſo often been preſented to the view of the polite and humane inhabitants of that capital.

Curioſity now gave way to another paſſion, that of fear. For my part, I am not aſhamed to confeſs, that I never was in ſuch trepidation ſince I firſt ſaw the light of day. Nor were my companions in a more enviable ſtate. I looked round and beheld the affrighted group huddled up together, like a brood of chickens waiting the mortal grip of the voracious kite. In this general picture of conſternation one object attracted particular notice. It was a democrat, who was ſo fully perſuaded that the Flag was the harbinger of fate, that he began to anticipate the torments of the world to come. Never did I before behold ſuch dreadful ſymptoms of a guilty conſcience. He was as white as paper, his knees knocked together, his teeth chattered, he wrung his hands and rolled his eyes, but durſt not lift them towards heaven. His voice was like the yell of the inhabitants of the infernal regions. " Oh! " Valerius! curſed Pittachus! Franklin Bache! " Franklin Bache! Oh! that infernal atheiſtical Ca- " lendar!"—This was all we could get from him;

but this was enough to aſſure me, that he was one of thoſe unhappy wretches, who had been led aſtray by the profligate correſpondents of Mr. Bache, and by the atheiſtical decadery calendar, which that gentleman has, with ſo much unholy zeal, endeavoured to introduce amongſt us, in place of the Chriſtian one, we, as yet, make uſe of.

My attention was called off from this terrific picture of deſpair by a voice from beneath. A tall ſpare man, dreſſed all in black from head to foot, who ſeemed to be "*A Calm Obſerver*," was beginning, in a hollow voice, to read (as I expected) the decrees of fate, but, to my agreeable ſurprize I found it was a decree of the national Convention, —It was in the following words:

To the Repreſentatives of the United States of America in Congreſs aſſembled.

Citizens Repreſentatives,

The connections which Nature, reciprocal events, and a happy concurrence of circumſtances, have formed between two free nations, cannot but be indiſſoluble. You have ſtrengthened thoſe ſacred ties by the Declarations, which the Miniſter Plenipotentiary of the United States has made, in your name, to the National Convention, and to the French People. They have been received with rapture by a nation, who know how to appreciate every teſtimony which the United States have given to them of their affection. The colours of both nations, united in a center of the National Convention, will be an everlaſting evidence of the part which the United States have taken in the ſucceſs of the French Republic.

You were the firſt Defenders of the Rights of Man, in another hemiſphere.—Strengthened by your example, and endowed with an invincible energy, the French people have vanquiſhed that tyranny, which, during ſo many centuries of ignorance, ſuperſtition and baſeneſs, had enchained a generous nation.

Soon did the people of the United States perceive that every victory of ours, ſtrengthened their independence and happineſs. They were deeply affected at our momentary misfortunes, occaſioned by treaſons purchaſed by Engliſh gold. They have celebrated with rapture the ſucceſſes of our brave armies.

None of theſe ſympathetic emotions have eſcaped the ſenſibility of the French nation. They have all ſerved to cement the moſt intimate and ſolid union that has ever exiſted between two nations.

The Citizen Adet who will reſide near your Government in quality of Miniſter Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, is ſpecially inſtructed to tighten the bands of fraternity and mutual benevolence. We hope that he may fulfil this principle object of his miſſion, by a conduct worthy of the confidence of both nations, and of the reputation with his patriotiſm and virtues have acquired him.

An analogy of political principles, the natural relations of commerce and induſtry;—the efforts and immenſe ſacrifices of both nations in defence of liberty and equality ;—the blood which they have ſpilled together ;—their avowed hatred for deſpots;—the moderation of their political views;—the diſtintereſtedneſs of their councils ;—and eſpecially the ſucceſs of the vows which they have made in preſence of the Supreme Being, to be free or die,—all combine to render indeſtructable the connections which they have formed.

Doubt it not, Citizens ; we ſhall finally deſtroy the combination of Tyrants ; you, by the picture of proſperity, which in your vaſt countries, has ſucceeded to a bloody ſtruggle of eight years ;—we, by the enthuſiaſm which glows in the breaſt of every Frenchman. Aſtoniſhed nations, too long the dupes of perfidious Kings, Nobles and Prieſts, will eventually recover their rights, and the human race, will owe to the American and French nations, their regeneration and laſting peace.

PARIS, 30th Vendemaire, 3d year of the French Republic, one and indiviſible.

The Members of the Committee of Public Safety.

J. S. B. DELMAS,
MERLIN [of Douai] &c.

" This *Merlin*," ſays Doctor Moore, in his journal," is not thought to be quite ſo great a con-" jurer as his nameſake of old." The opinion here related by the Doctor, ſeems to be pretty well confirmed by the diſpatch before us; and I think we may add, that the reſt of the committee of Public Safety, who participated in drawing it up, were no greater conjurers than their colleague.

Paſſing by the general ſtile of this Anglo-Gallican epiſtle, let us examine a paſſage or two of its contents.

" The connections which *nature, reciprocal events* " and a happy concurrence of circumſtances, have " formed between two free nations, cannot but be " indiſſoluble."

By this we are to underſtand, that, in our *nature* and in the *events of our revolution*, we reſemble the French. In the firſt place, what has nature given us in common with them? Are we deſcended from the ſame race? Is the reſemblance to be found in our perſons, in our language, or in our diſpoſitions? Did ever any body hear an American (except he was a frenchified Democrat) running on with an eternal bombaſtical babble about nothing? Do we ſing, dance, and cut throarts, all in the ſame inſtant? Place one of our plain, ſober, ſenſible young men by the ſide of a profligate prig of the revolution, and ſee if you can find any two animals of God's creation between which there is ſo little likeneſs. What, then, has nature done *to draw us together*, as they call it? It appears to me, that ſhe has acted in a ſenſe directly oppoſite. Like a tender and ſolicitous mother, ſeeing her favourite children forming connections contrary to her laws, ſhe has exerted all her efforts to *draw* them from their ruin. May we liſten to her voice! and not ſuffer ourſelves to be ſucked into the rattle-ſnake embraces of thoſe anarchiſts, whom ſhe ſays: " a-" void, as you would avoid my curſe!"

As the nature of a people is a thing entirely independent of their own agency, I ſee no great reaſon that we have to be offended at the Convention, for aſpiring to reſemble us in natural diſpoſitions and affection; but, with reſpect to *the events of our two revolutions*, the work of our own hands, to tell us that we are connected by a ſimilarity here, is what we may, and ought to be offended at, and highly too. In what hiſtorian, I beſeech them, did they find out that the events of our revolution reſembled the events of theirs? Did we begin our revolution by robbery and murder? Was our declaration of independence, like their declaration of rights, promulgated midſt the cries of the dying? Or did the heralds ſtand to read it under the dripping head of ſome innocent victim? Was our Congreſs ever divided into impious factions, ſtriving to out-vie each other in cruelty and blaſphemy? Did they decree the word of God to be a lie, and write over our burial places: "this is the place of *eternal ſleep?*" Did we ever ſee the guillotine permanent in our market-places; children bound beneath it, while the blood of their parents flowed on the ſcaffold; our gutters running with the ſtreams of life? Did we cut off the heads of our fathers and mothers, drag our children to death? and did theſe Repreſentatives of the French people ever hear, that our Congreſs applauded ſuch helliſh acts? Did they ever hear, that we roaſted people alive, and cut off their fleſh to eat; that we ſtripped poor innocent defenceleſs women, and ſhot them by hundreds, with infants in their arms? Did they ever hear of men, born in America, or in any other county except France, ſavage enough to tear out the heart of a human being and bite it with their teeth; rip open women with child, and ſtick the quivering embryo on the point of their bayonets? Is there any American baſe enough to ſay that we were guilty of theſe things? And if we never were, in the name of all that's im-

pudent, how durſt they thus inſult us by comparing the events of our revolution to thoſe of their own?—Never, till I heard this diſpatch read, did I wiſh for a ſeat among the Legiſlators of the Union. Had I been on that floor, this hectoring epiſtle ſhould never have gone into the world, without being accompanied with a proof, that one American at leaſt, felt as he ought to do, the indignity offered to the character of his nation.*

But let us proceed to another paſſage.—"Soon "did the people of the United States perceive that "every victory of ours, ſtrengthened their inde-"pendence and happineſs. They were deeply af-"fected at our momentary misfortunes, occaſioned "by treaſons purchaſed by Engliſh gold. They "have celebrated with rapture the ſucceſſes of our "brave armies."

Now, let me aſk who are thoſe people of the United States, that "*ſoon perceived*" that what Maſter Merlin pleaſes to call victories *ſtrengthened*" their *independence* and *happineſs?* For my part, I was ſo far from perceiving this *ſoon*, that I have never perceived it at all; no, nor even imagined either. It would be but a poor pitifull independence, I am afraid, were it dependent on their victories. Their victories, if we ought to call victories what has been purchaſed by the ruin of an empire, have been in a

* Leſt the reader ſhould imagine, that the horrid deeds glanced at in this paragraph, are advanced at random, I take this opportunity of informing him, that a work, which I have had long in hand, and which will very ſoon be publiſhed, will not only convince him, that I have never exagerated the cruelties of the French revolutioniſts; but that I have kept far within the bounds of truth. In this work the affrighted reader will ſee clear convincing *proofs*, of ſuch conſummate villainy, ſuch refinement in barbarity, as never before entered into the heart of the moſt ſavage butcher of the human ſpecies.

quarter where we have neither territory nor commercial connections. What is their overrunning the Low Countries to us? What ſafety can we poſſibly derive from their ſucceſs in Savoy, or their *late victory on the Rhine?* Had they ſallied out, indeed, and deſtroyed the great *Leviathan*, and eſtabliſhed for ever the liberty of the ſeas, as they faithfully promiſed us they would, I ſhould have liſtened to them; but, alas! the ſea-monſter ſtill rolls about, ſweeping them from the face of the waters whenever he meets with them. This is fine ſtrengthening of our independence.

Beſides, there is ſomething in the very idea of an independence that ſtands in need of the ſtrength of another nation, which, to me, appears ridiculous. Independence ought to imply, capacity, to *ſtand alone.* If, then, we have this capacity, what need have we of French aid? And, if we have it not, we do wrong to talk about independence at all; for, a *dependent independence* is the moſt unenviable ſtate into which a poor helpleſs nation ever fell.—It is eaſy to diſcover why they are continually plying us with this old-thread bare tale; but it is not ſo eaſy to diſcover how it happens, that ſo many among us are ſtill their dupes.

We now come to the "Engliſh Gold." They tell us, that the people of this country "were deep-"ly affected at their momentary misfortunes, occa-"ſioned by treaſons purchaſed by Engliſh Gold." —This is an excellent way of accounting for misfortunes. When the French gain a victory, it is by their valour, but when they are beaten, it is by the gold of their enemies. There is one circumſtance here, which, it would ſeem, our dear friend Merlin overlooked; and that is; where there are treaſons there muſt be traitors, and where there is corruption there muſt be receivers as well as givers. This being the caſe, it naturally follows, that this

Engliſh gold has been received by corrupt French traitors. Whether this does them honour or not, or whether it be a circumſtance that ought to excite our confidence in their nation, I leave the reader to determine.

But how does this apply to ourſelves? What have we to do with their money matters? Ah! perhaps the reader does not ſee why this Engliſh gold was glided into the flag epiſtle. It was not without a motive, I can aſſure him. The writers knew that their epiſtle would be publiſhed in this country, and they looked upon it as a fine opportunity to hint at Engliſh corruption, when the treaty was about to arrive among us.* They knew alſo that they had made abundant uſe of gold themſelves, and we have ever ſeen that it is the practice of the world, to cry out on others, while the ſin lies at their own door.

We have heard much talk about Engliſh gold or, as it is commonly called the "gold of Pitt;" but I would venture my life, that there is not a ſingle perſon in the United States, who believes that it has been employed among us. A proof, an infallible proof, that it has not, we hear it exclaimed againſt. Gold has a different effect: it ever makes converts: it opens the mouth of the boiſterous demagogue againſt every body elſe but the donor. Had Mr. Pitt known "the pretended patriots of A-"merica," as well as Citizen Fauchet did; had he known that their conſciences were going off dog-cheap, he might have employed a few thouſand guineas to good purpoſe. He might have bought up all the *Democratic Societies* in the country at the reaſonable rate of twenty pounds *per* club. Theſe remarks may poſſibly reach Billy Pitt; if they

* This epiſtle was writen in October 1794, and conſequently, they expected it would arrive here before Mr Jay.

ſhould, I hereby engage, if he will ſend me a bank bill of ten thouſand pounds, to turn the hearts of all this horde of patriots in the courſe of one month from the date of my receipt. I will not only ſilence their execrations againſt him, but will turn their cerberean howlings into ſongs of praiſe. Inſtead of the bloody *Ca Ira* and the brutal *Carmagnole*, I will make them bawl out, "Britannia rule "the waves;" nay, even "God ſave Great George "our King." And all this I undertake to do for the reaſonable commiſſion of twenty five *per cent.* The reader may, perhaps, look upon this as preſumption in me; but when he recollects that I have to do with Democratic Societies; when he recollects that Citizen Fauchet could have "determined "on *civil* war or on *peace*" with the aid of only "a "few thouſand of dollars," he will be ready to allow, that I could perform what I here promiſe with ten thouſand good pounds ſterling.

In the next ſentence of the paſſage above quoted, Merlin tells us, that the people of America "cele-"brated with rapture the ſucceſſes of the brave "French armies."—Aye, aye, and of *the brave French fleets* too. I wiſh Maſter Merlin had ſpoken as little truth here as he has done in the reſt of his epiſtle. For my part I have ever been aſhamed of theſe celebrations of the French ſucceſſes: they appeared to me to be indications of a ſpirit of partiality, very unbecoming in a people who were continually putting in their claims to the rights and privileges of *neutrality*. But, let us do juſtice here. Who were theſe civic-feaſters? "The people of A-"merica," ſays Merlin; but Merlin is a little miſtaken here. They were compoſed of the drunken rabble of ſome great towns, headed by thoſe who were very probably in the pay of the Convention. I am aware that I ſhall be told here, that the cannons of the

State of Pennſylvania were fired at theſe feaſts, that the G..... aſſiſted in perſon, and that *honourable* mention is made of him, in the *procés-verbal* (or minutes of the proceedings) ſent to the French government; but this will not make me retract what I have ſaid about *drunken rabble*, nor about thoſe who were very probably *in the pay* of the Convention; on the contrary, I produce this circumſtance as a proof of theſe my aſſertions.

I ſhall take particular notice of but one paſſage more of this loving legiſlative epiſtle.—"An analo-
"gy of political principles, the natural relations
"commerce and induſtry; the efforts and im-
"menſe ſacrifices of both nations, in the defence
"of liberty and equality;—the blood which they
"have ſpilled together;—their avowed hatred for
"deſpots;--the moderation of their political views;
"the diſintereſtedneſs of their councils; and eſpe-
"cially the ſucceſs *of the vows which they have*
"*made in the preſence of the Supreme Being*, to be
"free, or die,—all combine to render indeſtructa-
"ble the connections which they have formed."

And do they tell us, that our vows to the Supreme Being reſemble theirs? And have they the aſſurance to talk to us about the Supreme Being, after the publication of their decrees! Do we not know, that one of this very Convention who writes to us thus, mounted the tribune of the Aſſembly and called on them to "throw down the altars of "God?" And, do we not know, that the Convention, in conſequence of this impious motion, decreed, that the French people acknowledged no other god, or rather goddeſs, but *Reaſon?* They not only inſtituted and celebrated a feſtival to this new-fangled deity, but a *ſtrumpet* was accoutered in the habiliments of *Reaſon* ſeated on a throne of turf, ſurrounded with the inſignia of what ſhe was ſaid to repreſent, and in this guiſe received the adorations of the

Convention, as well as of the people of Paris, Can we have forgotten theſe things? Can we have forgotten the decree that orders all religious books to be burnt, and can we have forgotten that this was really done? Who were the men, then, that did all this? The very Convention, that now talks to us about the Supreme Being.—But, we are told, that they have now abjured their errors; that they have now *decreed, that there is a God.—Decreed* that there is a God! What blaſphemy! As if it were as eaſy to overturn the throne of Heaven, as that of their own country! Is there any Chriſtian, is there any man, that can hear language like this without ſhuddering? Are theſe our principles?—No: we imitate them in nothing. And I hope in God we never ſhall.

I muſt now inſert the letter of the French Miniſter and that of the Preſident, which were communicated to the Houſe immediately after the diſpatch I have juſt been remarking on. But, firſt of all, it will be neceſſary to give the letter of the Preſident, by which the buſineſs was opened to the Congreſs.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and of the Houſe of Repreſentatives,

A letter from the Miniſter Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, received on the 22d of laſt month, covered an addreſs dated the 21ſt of October 1794, from the Committee of Public Safety, to the Repreſentatives of the United States in Congreſs; and alſo informed me that he was inſtructed by the Committee to preſent to the United States the colours of France. I therefore propoſed to receive them laſt Friday, the firſt day of the new year, a day of general joy and congratulation. On that day the Miniſter of the French Republic delivered the colours, with an addreſs, to which I returned an anſwer. By the latter the Houſe will ſee that I have informed the miniſter, that the colours will be depoſited with the archives of the United States. But it ſeemed to me proper previouſly to exhibit

to the two Houſes of Congreſs theſe evidences of the continued friendſhip of the French Republic, together with the ſentiments expreſſed by me on the occaſion in behalf of the United States. They are herewith communicated.

G^{o} : WASHINGTON.

FRENCH MINISTER's LETTER.

MR. PRESIDENT,

I come to acquit myſelf of a duty very dear to my heart; —I come to depoſit in your hands and in the midſt of a people juſtly renowned for their courage and their love of liberty, the ſymbol of the triumphs and of the enfranchiſement of my nation.

When ſhe broke her chains;—when ſhe proclaimed the impreſcriptible rights of man;—when, in a terrible war, ſhe ſealed with her blood the covenant ſhe had made with Liberty,—her own happineſs was not alone the object of her glorious efforts;—her views extended alſo to all free people. She ſaw their intereſts blended with her own, and doubly rejoiced in her victories, which in aſſuring to her the enjoyment of her rights, became to them new *guarantees of their independence.*

Theſe ſentiments, which animated the French nation, from the dawn of their revolution, have acquired new ſtrength ſince the foundation of the Republic. France, at that time, by the form of its government, aſſimilated to, or rather indentified with, free people, ſaw in them only friends and brothers. Long accuſtomed to regard the American people as her moſt faithful allies, ſhe has ſought to draw cloſer the ties already formed in the fields of America, under the auſpices of victory, over the ruins of tyranny.

The National Convention, the organ of the will of the French nation, have more than once expreſſed their ſentiments to the American people;—but above all, theſe burſt forth on that auguſt day, when the Miniſter of the United States preſented to the National Repreſentation, the colours of his country. Deſiring never to loſe recollections as dear to Frenchmen as they muſt be to Americans, the Convention ordered that theſe colours ſhould be placed in the hall of their ſittings. They had experienced ſenſations too agreeable not to cauſe them to be partaken of by

their allies, and decreed that to them the National colours ſhould be preſented.

Mr. Preſident, I do not doubt their expectations will be fulfilled; and I am convinced that every citizen will receive, with a pleaſing emotion, this flag, elſewhere the terror of the enemies of liberty, here the certain pledge of faithful friendſhip; eſpecially when they recollect that it guides to combat, men who have *ſhared their toils*, and who were prepared for liberty by *aiding them to acquire their own.*

(Signed) P. A. ADET.

PRESIDENT's ANSWER.

Born, Sir, *in a land of liberty*; having early learned its value; having engaged in a perilous conflict *to defend* it; having in a word devoted the beſt years of my life to ſecure its permanent eſtabliſhment in my own country; my anxious recollections, my ſympathetic feelings, and my beſt wiſhes are irreſiſtibly excited, whenſoever in any country I ſee an oppreſſed nation unfurl the banners of freedom. But above all, the events of the French Revolution have produced the deepeſt ſolicitude, as well as the higheſt admiration. To call your nation brave were to pronounce but common praiſe. Wonderful people! Ages to come will read with aſtoniſhment the hiſtory of your brilliant exploits! I rejoice that the period of your toils and of your immenſe ſacrifices is approaching. I rejoice that the intereſting revolutionary movements of ſo many years have iſſued in the formation of a conſtitution deſigned to give permanency to the great object for which you have contended. I rejoice that liberty, which you have ſo long embraced with enthuſiaſm,—liberty, of which you have been the invincible defenders, now finds an aſylum in the boſom of a regularly organized government;—a government, which, being formed to ſecure the happineſs of the French people correſponds with the ardent wiſhes of my heart, while it gratifies the pride of every citizen of the United States, by its reſemblance to their own.—On theſe glorious events, accept, Sir, my ſincere congratulations.

In delivering to you theſe ſentiments, I expreſs not my own feelings only, but thoſe of my fellow-citizens, in relation to the commencement, the progreſs, and the iſſue of the French Revolution: and they will cordially join with me in

pureſt wiſhes to the Supreme Being, that the citizens of our ſiſter republic, our magnanimous allies, may ſoon enjoy in peace, that liberty, which they have purchaſed at ſo great a price, and all the happineſs which liberty can beſtow.

I receive, Sir, with lively ſenſibility, the ſymbol of the triumphs and of the enfranchiſement of your nation, the colours of France, which you have now preſented the United States. The tranſaction will be announced to Congreſs; and the colours will be depoſited with thoſe archives of the United States, which are at once the evidences and the memorials of their freedom and independence. May theſe be perpetual! and may the friendſhip of the two Republics be commenſurate with their exiſtence.

G°. WASHINGTON.

THERE is nothing in this letter of the French Miniſter, which ſeems to call for a remark, after what I have ſaid on the letter of the Committee of Public Safety, except it be the cloſing ſentence; where he tells us, that the Flag guides to combat men who have ſhared *our toils*, and who were prepared for liberty by *aiding us* to *acquire* our own.

The firſt thing I ſhall take notice of here, is, their aiding us to *acquire liberty*. If this be true, we knew not what liberty was before their arrival. We were, then, *ſlaves* to the king of Great Britain. Take care, Mr. Adet; you have touched on a tender ſtring here! What! Sir, were we ſlaves? And are we yet the *ſons of ſlaves?* If you find me one ſingle American (of Britiſh deſcent) who will allow, that he is the *ſon of a ſlave*, I'll give you leave to guillotine me to-morrow morning, freſh and faſting.

The Preſident begins his anſwer by rejecting this degrading idea. "*Born*, Sir, *in a land of liberty.*" As if he had ſaid: No, no, Sir, I am no *freed man*; I was never a ſlave; I was *born* free.—"*Born*, Sir, "in a land of liberty; having *early* learned its va-

" lue; having engaged in a perilous conflict to *de-*
" *fend it;*" and not to *acquire it.* This is the language of every American that has too much reſpect for himſelf and his anceſtors, to allow that he is no better than a freed negro. To talk of *aiding us to acquire our liberty*, what is it but to put us on a footing with thoſe deluded wretches, whom Victor Hughes is now *aiding to acquire their liberty* at St. Vincent's and Granada?

And with reſpect to the *aid* that we received from France; there are but very few of us now-a-days who are not well convinced, that that *aid* was afforded from motives, that call for no mighty degree of gratitude; and even if we could ever have had a doubt of this, the expreſs declarations of the Convention would have removed it. But, ſuppoſing the aid to have been given from motives of pure love to us, and regard to our welfare; who gave it? Not the National Convention. It was a king, whom that Convention has put to death.—The Miniſter tells us, that the Flag " guides to combat, " men who have *ſhared our toils.*" What! did the armies of the Convention ever ſhare our toils? I fancy we ſhall find, that few of the men who ſhared our toils have eſcaped the fatal ax. Thoſe that did, are pining away their days in a diſmal dungeon, or are fled into ſome foreign land; nay, ſome of the men who ſhared our toils, are now ſharing the toils of the Britiſh, inſtead of the French armies.

Any hint of this kind might, then, have been ſpared at the preſenting of the thunder-bolt Flag; but, it ſeems, we are never to hear the laſt of this aſſiſtance received from France. Not a letter, not a communication, be it ever ſo ſhort or ſo trifling, do we ever receive without being reminded of it. It is a maxim, that, when once an obligation is mentioned by the obliging party, the obligation

ceaſes. How often, then has our obligation ceaſed? "Time was," ſays Macbeth, "when the breath "was out, men ceaſed to exiſt; but now they riſe "from their graves with twenty mortal murders on "their heads, and puſh us from our ſtools." So it is with our obligation to the French; in vain do we pay, in vain do we diſcharge it, in vain do they forfeit all demand on us; ſtill, like the griſly ghoſt of Bancquo, does it riſe and ſtare us in the face. I hope our children, at any rate, will have the courage to ſay: 'Shake not thy gory locks at us; thou "canſt not ſay 'twas we."

I do not know how my neighbour may think on this ſubject; but, for me, I cannot bear the idea of this everlaſting debt of gratitude. It lies like a mountain on my breaſt. Is it redeemable? if it be, for the love of heaven, let us pay it off, and have done with it. If I can find but ten men to join me, I'll petition Congreſs to lay a poll tax of an eagle an head for that purpoſe; that we may be able, once before we die, to ſay we are out of debt.

But, it is time to come to the manner in which the Houſe of Repreſentatives received the Flag, this pledge of the friendſhip of the Convention.

Mr. GILES informed the Houſe, that having been aware that the flag would be preſented to the Houſe this day, conſidering it as an additional teſtimony of the affection of France and it having been the practice on analogous occaſions for the Houſe to expreſs their ſentiments independent of the other branch, he had prepared a reſolution expreſſive of what he conceived would be their ſenſe on the occaſion. It was nearly in the words following.

"*Reſolved*, That the Preſident of the United States be requeſted to make known to the Repreſentatives of the French People, that the Houſe has received with the moſt lively ſenſations the communications of the Committee of the Public Safety, on the 21ſt of October 1794, accompanied with the colours of the French Republic, and to aſſure them that the preſentation of the colours of France

to the Congreſs of the United States is deemed a moſt honourable teſtimony of the exiſting ſympathy and affections of the two republics, founded upon their ſolid and reciprocal intereſts, that the Houſe rejoices in the opportunity of congratulating the French Republic on the brilliant and glorious atchievements accompliſhed under it, during the preſent afflictive war, and that they hope thoſe atchievements will be attended with a perfect attainment of their object, the permanent eſtabliſhment of the liberty and happineſs of that great and magnanimous people."

Mr Sedgwick wiſhed that a thouſand copies of the communications might be printed, and the farther conſideration of the meſſage deferred till to-morrow.

Mr. Harper and Mr. W. Smith, alſo recommended a delay. In the ſentiments of the reſolution, they both agreed. Perhaps the wording might be ſomewhat altered.

Mr. Swanwick was againſt poſtponing the conſideration of the meſſage, and obſerved that the Convention, on receiving a ſimilar preſent from this country, had proceeded inſtantly to a vote reſpecting it.

Mr. W. Smith recommended to alter the wording of the reſolution, by inſerting *the executive of France*, inſtead of *the repreſentatives of the French people*, to whom the meſſage in reply was to be directed.

Mr Sherbourne obſerved that the difference of opinion reſpecting the branch of government to which the anſwer of the Houſe ſhould be addreſſed, furniſhed an additional reaſon for a poſtponement. He highly reſpected the author of the motion, and believed his own feelings on the preſent occaſion as fervent as thoſe of any member. And though the feelings of the Houſe might not be as *ardent* on the morrow as at this moment, yet he preſumed that the ſentiment would be the ſame. He conceived the it would be more ſatisfactory to the Republic, and more conſiſtent with the dignity of the Houſe, that their anſwer ſhould be the reſult of cool deliberation, than a ſudden impulſe of enthuſiaſm, which the preſent occaſion was calculated to inſpire. He would therefore move that the farther conſideration of the reſolution on the table, be poſtponed till to-mororw.

Mr. Swanwick thought a poſtponement in this caſe, as in many others, would only be a waſte of time. The mo-

ceaſes. How often, then has our obligation ceaſed? "Time was," ſays Macbeth, "when the breath "was out, men ceaſed to exiſt; but now they riſe "from their graves with twenty mortal murders on "their heads, and puſh us from our ſtools." So it is with our obligation to the French; in vain do we pay, in vain do we diſcharge it, in vain do they forfeit all demand on us; ſtill, like the griſly ghoſt of Bancquo, does it riſe and ſtare us in the face. I hope our children, at any rate, will have the courage to ſay: "Shake not thy gory locks at us; thou "canſt not ſay 'twas we."

I do not know how my neighbour may think on this ſubject; but, for me, I cannot bear the idea of this everlaſting debt of gratitude. It lies like a mountain on my breaſt. Is it redeemable? if it be, for the love of heaven, let us pay it off, and have done with it. If I can find but ten men to join me, I'll petition Congreſs to lay a poll tax of an eagle an head for that purpoſe; that we may be able, once before we die, to ſay we are out of debt.

But, it is time to come to the manner in which the Houſe of Repreſentatives received the Flag, this pledge of the friendſhip of the Convention.

Mr. GILES informed the Houſe, that having been aware that the flag would be preſented to the Houſe this day, conſidering it as an additional teſtimony of the affection of France and it having been the practice on analogous occaſions for the Houſe to expreſs their ſentiments independent of the other branch, he had prepared a reſolution expreſſive of what he conceived would be their ſenſe on the occaſion. It was nearly in the words following.

"*Reſolved*, That the Preſident of the United States be requeſted to make known to the Repreſentatives of the French People, that the Houſe has received with the moſt lively ſenſations the communications of the Committee of the Public Safety, on the 21ſt of October 1794, accompanied with the colours of the French Republic, and to aſſure them that the preſentation of the colours of France

to the Congreſs of the United States is deemed a moſt honourable teſtimony of the exiſting ſympathy and affections of the two republics, founded upon their ſolid and reciprocal intereſts, that the Houſe rejoices in the opportunity of congratulating the French Republic on the brilliant and glorious atchievements accompliſhed under it, during the preſent afflictive war, and that they hope thoſe atchievements will be attended with a perfect attainment of their object, the permanent eſtabliſhment of the liberty and happineſs of that great and magnanimous people."

Mr Sedgwick wiſhed that a thouſand copies of the communications might be printed, and the farther conſideration of the meſſage deferred till to-morrow.

Mr. Harper and Mr. W. Smith, alſo recommended a delay. In the ſentiments of the reſolution, they both agreed. Perhaps the wording might be ſomewhat altered.

Mr. Swanwick was againſt poſtponing the conſideration of the meſſage, and obſerved that the Convention, on receiving a ſimilar preſent from this country, had proceeded inſtantly to a vote reſpecting it.

Mr. W. Smith recommended to alter the wording of the reſolution, by inſerting *the executive of France*, inſtead of *the repreſentatives of the French people*, to whom the meſſage in reply was to be directed.

Mr Sherbourne obſerved that the difference of opinion reſpecting the branch of government to which the anſwer of the Houſe ſhould be addreſſed, furniſhed an additional reaſon for a poſtponement. He highly reſpected the author of the motion, and believed his own feelings on the preſent occaſion as fervent as thoſe of any member. And though the feelings of the Houſe might not be as *ardent* on the morrow as at this moment, yet he preſumed that the ſentiment would be the ſame. He conceived the it would be more ſatisfactory to the Republic, and more conſiſtent with the dignity of the Houſe, that their anſwer ſhould be the reſult of cool deliberation, than a ſudden impulſe of enthuſiaſm, which the preſent occaſion was calculated to inſpire. He would therefore move that the farther conſideration of the reſolution on the table, be poſtponed till to-mororw.

Mr. Swanwick thought a poſtponement in this caſe, as in many others, would only be a waſte of time. The mo-

tion was negatived. Mr. W. Smith's amendment was then taken up, and, after ſome converſation, was alſo negatived.

Mr. Parker moved an amendment as follows: "That this Houſe has received with the moſt *ſincere and* lively ſenſibility," &c. The amendment was for inſerting the two words in Italicks, to which the Houſe conſented. The meſſage was then voted unananimouſly, and a thouſand copies of the communications and reſolutions were ordered to be printed. A committee of two members was appointed to wait on the Preſident, and inform him of the reſolution agreed to by the Houſe.

Oh fy! Mr Sedgwick! how could you propoſe to put off the conſideration of this charming ſubject till the next day? A delay of a whole twenty-four hours! Upon my word, Sir, ſuch a propoſition indicated but little regard for our Siſter Republic. How different the conduct of Mr Giles! He comes to the Houſe with a *reſolution* in his pocket, ready prepared, even before the communication is received. Happy member! He has thus got the ſtart of you all in the affections of our very dear allies. Mr. Parker made, indeed, a puſh to come in with him, by adding the word *ſincere*; but we all know, that the firſt ſtep is every thing in like caſes.—*Sincere* and *lively* are not, 'tis true, the propereſt epithets that could be placed before the word *ſenſibility*; but it would be mere pedantry to ſubject to rules of propriety, a reſolution dictated by that "ſudden impulſe of *enthuſiaſm*, which "the preſent occaſion was calculated to inſpire."

Mr. Swanwick (don't ſmile reader) ſaw, at once, the impropriety of poſtponing the conſideration; becauſe—becauſe what!—becauſe "the Con-"vention, on receiving a ſimilar *preſent* from *this* "*country*, had proceeded inſtantly to a vote reſ-"pecting it-"—And who told you, my dear little orater, that "the Convention had received a ſimi-

" lar *preſent* from *this country ?*"—Who is *this country ?* What is it? I am well informed that neither the government nor the legiſlature knew any thing at all about the matter, 'till an account of it appeared in the news-papers; and you are not to learn, I preſume, that whatever an Embaſſador does of his own head, is in no wiſe binding on his country. But, ſuppoſe even, that the American flag delivered to the Convention, had been a preſent from this country, their maner of receiving it could have but little weight here, with men who were not devoted to their intereſts rather than to thoſe of America. How long, I pray, have their meaſures became precedents here? " They proceeded to a vote " inſtantly." And when did they do otherwiſe? When did they heſitate? When they decreed that each department ſhould *build a ſhip of the line*, there was no heſitation, any more than when they decreed that there ſhould be *no more beggars* in France, and *no more kings* in Europe. Beſides, if you are to imitate the Convention, I'll aſſure you, you muſt make a very conſiderable change in the Houſe of Repreſentatives. You muſt have half a dozen negroes and mulattoes amongſt you; and it would have been neceſſary, the day before the reception of this pretty preſent, for your Speaker to receive and embrace an old negro woman at the head of her many-coloured progeny. Even the ceremony itſelf muſt have undergone a change; for the American flag was carried to the Convention by an *American;* conſequently the French flag ſhould have been brought in by a *Frenchman;* and, if the imitation was to be perfect in all its parts, your Speaker ſhould have deſcended from his ſeat, and given this bearer the fraternal hug. How vain, then, was it to talk about imitations. Before you aſpire to this ſublime perfection in patriotiſm, you and your

party muſt raiſe us to the height of the French people ; a change more eaſy to attempt than accompliſh, whatever you may pleaſe to think of it.

As I have already taken up ſo much of the reader's time with this flag, I ſhall not, at preſent, enter into an inquiry whether it was proper, or not, to make the Preſident of the United States a ſort of go-between to the Congreſs and the Convention ; nor ſhall I aſk how the American Embaſſador at Paris came to think of involving his government in ſuch an affair ; I ſhall only obſerve, that, as I believe it is the firſt inſtance of legiſlative aſſemblies ſending preſents to each other, ſo, I hope, it will be the laſt.

END OF THE FIRST NUMBER.

BRITISH MUSEUM 16 OCT 28